



Daily Report

East Europe

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Turkish Radio 'Disinformation, Lies' Discussed

AU2408163189 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO
in Bulgarian 23 Aug 89 p 2

[Mikhail Yanchev article: "Why the 'Voice of Turkey' Preaches Hatred"]

[Excerpts] We are living in a time when contacts between people are increasing in frequency, and when the accords of Helsinki and Vienna are beginning to operate more widely. We are witnessing how conflicts and problems in international relations are being resolved through dialogue and good will. Mankind is seeking ways to eliminate dangerous weapons, and the new political thinking is becoming established.

The People's Republic of Bulgaria is also actively participating in this process; our country has made and is now making its own contribution toward establishing a new political climate in the Balkans, in Europe, and throughout the world. Our people are sincerely and consistently striving to establish understanding, good-neighborliness, and cooperation with its neighbors. They are also proving this by the patience with which they are treating the unjust accusations and slanders in the anti-Bulgarian campaign that has been stirred up regarding our citizens traveling to Turkey. This is because they have suffered much and are still continuing to heal the wounds of its slavery, and because they are a peace-loving and industrious people.

The reactionary ruling circles in Turkey want one of the wounds inflicted by the slavery to remain forever open. The militant supporters of pan-Turkism became particularly brazen and unethical following the intensification of the process of unifying the Bulgarian people in recent years, and after the descendants of the Islamized Bulgarians decided to eliminate the marks left on them by the period of slavery and open the chests of their grandmothers and great-grandmothers in order to show that the Bulgarian heritage has been handed down from generation to generation, and is something natural and incontrovertible.

This was not to the liking of the ideologists of pan-Turkism and the reactionary politicians in Turkey. Those elements of their intentions and actions that had previously worked in secret, both as a policy and as a strategy, were now openly directed against Bulgaria. This led to the appearance of the diversionary program of Radio Ankara directed against our country, namely the "Voice of Turkey." From the very beginning it went right outside the boundaries of elementary ethics in relations between different countries and exceeded the highest "standards" recorded so far of disinformation, lies, slanders, and immorality. I will leave aside the issue of the low standard of culture and even illiteracy in the way a number of issues are dealt with in the transmissions, but here are some "masterpieces" of the Pan-Turkists.

In its transmission on 12 December 1988, "Voice of Turkey" radio broadcast a letter "received" from Bulgaria: "I think about our children, grandchildren, and young people," the letter states. "What will become of them in the future? The towns and villages in which the Muslims live have been turned into concentration camps. Not only the mosques, but also the schools and stores have been closed."

These thoughts expressed in the anonymous letter from an 80-year-old man in actual fact accurately represent not Bulgarian, but Turkish reality. There the schools are indeed being closed, because the state has no money. Hasan Guzel, the former minister of national education, himself boasted in HURRIYET on 19 April 1989 that he had closed 256 schools in 1988 alone! In Turkish Kurdistan alone, every year over 500,000 children are unable to go to school. Each year many illiterate people are produced. I do not think it necessary to reiterate well-known truths about the education in Bulgaria, which is one of the leading countries in this field by world standards. I do not regard it as necessary to refute the lie about the concentration camps because one can discover this lie with the naked eye, nor the lie about the closed mosques since foreign journalists and politicians have attended services in them. If there are closed stores in one or two places, this is a temporary situation, which will last only until sales clerks and customers are found to replace those who are traveling to Turkey. [passage omitted]

The new political thinking demands correctness in international relations. The "Voice of Turkey" radio has been created to serve opposite aims. It is being used to make accusations of terror and repressions against Bulgaria—a country that guarantees the right of its citizens to travel abroad and return freely. What is more, these accusations are leveled by the rulers of Turkey, in which many basic human rights have been restricted and suppressed. They are sending out over the radio waves what are nothing more or less than direct instructions to their "kinsmen." Thus, the "Voice of Turkey" radio is becoming a means for interfering in the internal affairs of a sovereign country.

The orchestrated pan-Turkish campaign is also being fanned by the leaders of the opposition parties. On 1 June this year S. Demirel, chairman of the True Path Party, actually gave the following reply to Todor Zhivkov's statement on Bulgarian television and radio: "Turkey has one duty—it must put an end to the sufferings of our kinsmen in Bulgaria. Turkey is open to all of our kinsmen who are victims of the Bulgarians' terror. For us this is a matter of conscience and honor." [passage omitted]

This sabotage over the radio waves is now reaching the limits of absurdity, ending in completely rejecting the world realities and the new political thinking in international relations. This was happening as far back as December 1988, when on 15 December the radio broadcast the following appeal:

"...For this reason you must resist, struggle, and try to be worthy heirs of those who fought for this land. For the sake of the Turkish nation it is worthwhile even to die, dear brothers."

It will be interesting to see whether the "Voice of Turkey" will continue to make such appeals now that Turkey has unilaterally closed its borders to Bulgarians, and whether it will continue to make boasts like these:

"Turkey is such a heaven that nowhere will you see anyone going hungry. Turkey is able to feed not 50, but 500 million people."

Turkey's Withdrawal From Balkan Congress Viewed

AU2408180889 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 23 Aug 89 pp 1, 4

[Interview with Academician Nikolay Todorov by Slavka Antonova: "Truths About the Past and Present"—date, place not given]

[Excerpts] The Sixth International Congress of Balkan Studies will join together the efforts of scholars from Balkan countries, in the first place, but representatives from 15 other states have announced their readiness to participate.

The congress will open on 30 August 1989 at the Sofia People's Palace of Culture.

[Antonova] From the briefing of the Organizational Committee for the Sixth International Congress of Balkan Studies submitted to our editorial board we could observe an interesting fact: Nearly half of the foreign participants (according to preliminary applications) will be from non-Balkan countries. This pronounced interest in the historical development of the peoples in Southeastern Europe and in their unique culture has a justified explanation. At the beginning of our interview with Academician Nikolay Todorov, deputy chairman of the International Association for Southeast European Studies and chairman of the Organizational Committee for the congress, we stressed the significance of this fact for the results of Balkan cooperation in the sphere of science. [passage omitted]

[Todorov] The contacts of specialists on Balkan affairs are truly multifaceted. Some of them were established on a permanent basis as early as during the first half of our century. [passage omitted]

[Antonova] Let us turn to more specific questions, after having discussed some subjects. According to the preliminary briefing, a group of Turkish scholars was expected to participate in the congress. However, we just learned that they will not be among the delegates and guests.

[Todorov] It is true that a numerous Turkish delegation of about 50 scholars had announced its participation in the congress. Summaries of their papers which we received on time were printed in our country. The

subjects proposed to be discussed at the congress are in accordance with the norms established for all participants in the scholarly activities of our association, and this applies both to the contents and form of the subjects. At the very last moment, however, literally on the eve of the congress, the Turkish Embassy delivered a letter addressed to me by Prof Ya Yudzhe [name as transliterated], leader of the Turkish delegation and deputy chairman of the Association for Southeast European Studies, and an appeal signed by all prospective members of the delegation, that as a result of the current relations between our two states, the Turkish scholars refuse to come to Sofia and propose a boycott of the congress.

I would like to express my profound regret at this decision adopted by the Turkish delegation and I cannot help describing this act as a gross and unprecedented politization of scholarly activities. I think that, in spite of everything, we will further adhere to the correct line which we adopted over 25 years ago (when the association was established at the initiative of a group of scholars from Balkan countries) and which we have been pursuing with great success since that time. I still think that we should not follow the example of our Turkish colleagues and that we should refrain from responding in our turn, by pronouncing a judgment on Turkey's domestic policy, or on the attitude of the Turkish rulers toward other countries and peoples.

I do not intend to present things in a "rosy light." We must admit, on the contrary, that scholars active in the humanitarian sector and in Balkan studies are working under difficult conditions. Problems that might easily jeopardize the dialogue, built up with so much effort, are likely to emerge in the development of public affairs in the Balkans—namely, in the political, social and national spheres—and in mutual relations among Balkan countries. [passage omitted]

I think that we are totally justified in concluding that all our previous congresses, regardless of the changing situation in the Balkans, represent a step forward in consolidating contacts among scholars, in the educational development of scientific workers and teachers, and in the exchange of information, as well as in alleviating tension and improving the Balkan "atmosphere." [passage omitted]

Poland's Rakowski Arrives on 'Brief Visit'

AU2408151389 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1500 GMT 24 Aug 89

[Text] At the invitation of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party, Mieczyslaw Rakowski, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers Party, arrived in Bulgaria on 24 August for a brief visit. He was greeted by Comrades Milko Balev and Dimitur Stanishev. Wieslaw Beck, Polish ambassador to Bulgaria, also attended.

Zhivkov, Atanasov Greet Romanian Leaders

*AU2408175989 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO
in Bulgarian 23 Aug 89 pp 1, 6*

[Text] Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] Central Committee and chairman of the State Council, and Georgi Atanasov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, sent the following telegram to Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party [RCP] Central Committee and president of the Socialist Republic [SR] of Romania, and to Constantin Dascalescu, prime minister of the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania:

Esteemed comrades, on the occasion of Romania's National Day—the 45th anniversary of the antifascist and anti-imperialist uprising for social and national liberation—we convey our sincere congratulations and best wishes to you, to the RCP Central Committee, to the State Council, and Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania, and to the friendly Romanian people.

The victory of the 23 August 1944 uprising which was achieved under RCP leadership and under the circumstances of the Soviet Army's powerful advance against Hitler's fascism, marked the beginning of a new era in Romania's history. As a result of the Romanian people's selfless efforts, your country developed into a socialist state based on a highly developed economy and culture.

The Bulgarian people are following with interest and sincerely rejoicing at the Romanian working people's achievements and successes in socialist construction.

The SR of Romania actively participates in the initiatives of the Warsaw Pact member-countries and contributes to the consolidation of new political thinking in our present-day, mutually interconnected and interdependent world, to disarmament, and security, to the successful development of the all-European process.

We are gratified to point out that Bulgarian-Romanian cooperation, aimed at the consolidation of the constructive trends of all-Balkan cooperation and devoted to the transformation of the Balkans into a zone, free of nuclear and chemical weapons, is further developing.

We are profoundly convinced that the traditional Bulgarian-Romanian relations of friendship and cooperation will continue to develop also in the future to the benefit of our peoples, for the sake of peace and socialism.

On the eve of your glorious holiday, we once more pray you to accept our best wishes for further successes in the development of the SR of Romania, for the prosperity of the friendly Romanian people.

Romanian National Day Celebrated in Sofia

*AU2408165989 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO
in Bulgarian 23 Aug 89 p 6*

[BTA report: "Years of Radical Changes"]

[Excerpts] The Romanian people celebrate their National Day—the 45th anniversary of the victory of the antifascist uprising by which the people's democratic government system was established in the country—on 23 August.

This memorable anniversary was the occasion for a festive meeting held in Sofia, our country's capital.

Vasil Tsanov, secretary of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] Central Committee, stressed the following in his address: As the exponent of the entire people's feelings the Romanian Army correctly understood its responsibility toward the country and its future, and joined the struggle against fascism by worthily contributing to its complete defeat. The speaker pointed out the favorable conditions established by the Yash-Kishinev operation for the revolutionary upsurge in Romania.

Under the leadership of their Communist Party, the Romanian working people engaged in implementing the democratic changes in their country under conditions of a still unfinished war and a fierce class struggle against the forces of domestic reaction. The Republic of Romania was proclaimed on 30 December 1947 and the people of that country, who categorically selected the path of socialism, fundamentally transformed their country within a short time, in close cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other fraternal peoples

The speaker recalled the ancient historical roots of Bulgarian-Romanian friendship, the hospitality accorded to Bulgarian fighters for national freedom, and the participation of Romanian troops in the Russian-Turkish liberation war. In only a few months we will celebrate the 110th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between Bulgaria and Romania. The victory of socialism, however, provided new opportunities for active cooperation between our two countries in all spheres of sociopolitical, economic, and cultural life. This cooperation is based on the tested principles of revolutionary theory and on new political thinking today.

Comrade Vasil Tsanov pointed out Bulgaria's and Romania's joint aspirations to contribute to the consolidation of positive trends on the Balkan Peninsula for the expansion and intensification of mutual confidence, good-neighborly relations, and the security of the countries situated in our part of the world. [passage omitted]

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On the occasion of the national holiday of the Socialist Republic of Romania and the 45th anniversary of the

victory of the antisfacist uprising Vasile Pungan, Romania's ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary, gave a reception at the Romanian Embassy in Sofia last night.

The reception was attended by Comrades Dimitur Stoyanov, Georgi Yordanov, and Vasil Tsanov, by deputy chairmen of the National Assembly, and the State Council, and by deputy ministers.

Chiefs and members of diplomatic missions accredited in our country were also among those present.

Bulgarian-PRC Friendship Society Founded

*AU2408185589 Sofia BTA in English
1749 GMT 24 Aug 89*

[Text] Sofia, August 24 (BTA)—Today, here, was founded a Society for Bulgaro-Chinese Friendship. It is a successor of the section which has been founded in 1984 with the Committee for Culture.

Prof Dr Ivan Iliev, corresponding member, deputy chairman and chief scientific secretary of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, was elected chairman of the society.

A plan will be worked out which will include events representing here the history, culture, modern development and the achievements of the Chinese people, more active contacts between artists and organizations, exchange of artistic and scientific values.

Mr Li Fenglin, ambassador of the People's Republic of China in Bulgaria, expressed readiness for cooperation at the Constituent Assembly. He voiced the opinion of the Chinese side that the new organization will contribute for the better getting to know and cooperation between the two peoples.

Chemistry, Biotechnology Cooperation With PRC

*AU2408185689 Sofia BTA in English
1813 GMT 24 Aug 89*

[“Bulgaro-Chinese Economic Cooperation”—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, August 24 (BTA)—Chemistry and biotechnologies are new but very prospective spheres in the Bulgaro-Chinese economic cooperation. This conclusion was confirmed by the visit to this country of a delegation of the Ministry of Chemical Industry of the People's Republic of China headed by Mr Lin Yin Zai, deputy minister at the ministry. The guests discussed with their Bulgarian partners the roads for broadening of the cooperation through wide application of new forms.

There are good prospects for joint construction of capacities, in third countries included, for the establishing of joint productions of mutual interest, exchange of raw

materials, semi-products and products for the satisfaction of the two countries' needs. Interest was expressed in the exchange of technologies, in cooperation in the production of fertilizers.

The future cooperation attaches importance to the exchange of specialists, to the establishing of direct contacts between enterprises, to the joint production and the joint engineering activity. In the near future it is envisaged to sign an agreement for engineering, economic, trade and techno-scientific cooperation between the biotechnological and chemical industry association and the Chinese Ministry of Chemical Industry.

Trade Protocol With Nicaragua Signed in Sofia

*AU2408165689 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO
in Bulgarian 23 Aug 89 p 6*

[BTA report: “Trade With Nicaragua Is Expanding”]

[Text] A trade protocol on the exchange of goods was signed in Sofia between the governments of Bulgaria and of the Republic of Nicaragua for the 1989-1990 period. The document, which expresses the two countries' interest in expanding their cooperation, provides for mutual deliveries and transportation services to exceed \$30 million. Bulgaria will export medicines, automobile tires, canned vegetables and fruit, propylene, packaging paper, small hardware and spare parts for electric motors and motor vehicles, as well as for metal processing machines to Nicaragua. Bulgaria will import cotton, sesame seeds, canned fruit and vegetables, ready-made clothes, and rum from Nicaragua.

Roger Vazquez Berrios, Nicaraguan ambassador to our country, pointed out the following: The document we just signed initiates a further period of fruitful cooperation between our two countries and shows Bulgaria's assistance and support for the socioeconomic development of our country, where numerous projects were built with Bulgarian assistance in recent years.

Criticism on Lack of Statistics Answered

*AU2408130089 Sofia BTA in English
1154 GMT 24 Aug 89*

[“Glasnost and Social Information”—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, August 24 (BTA)—The pace, the proportions and the structural changes in the national economy will be measured more precisely. New indexes [such] as the gross internal product and the purchasing power of the lev will be calculated. Statistical studies will acquire a more markedly social nature. Statistical information about the real cost of living of each social group will be provided along with statistical data about the changes in retail prices, the social minimum of the standard of living, the public opinion on important questions. These are the prospects outlined by Mr Stanoy Tasev, chairman of the Central Statistical Department, in his interview with KOOPERATIVNO SELO.

He promises greater glasnost for statistical data. It will be done by issuing more popular publications of information, including some fields of the socioeconomic development of Bulgaria which have not been studied before.

In response to the critical notes against the central statistical department (C.S.U.) that have appeared in the press of late, its chairman admitted that some reproaches are grounded, especially as far as the value volumetric indexes whose numerical characteristics accumulate the internal circulation are concerned. C.S.U. is an integral part of the system of social management and adheres to the indexes of the planning practice, financial activity accountability. That is why, according to the plans of the Bulgarian Government, these problems are to be solved jointly by the Ministry of Economy and Planning, the Bulgarian National Bank and C.S.U.

Mr. Stanoy Tasev thinks that the criticism for not publishing some statistical data is unfounded, because they have been actually included in a great number of specialized issues. As far as the lack of information about some indexes is concerned, he points out that according to the government programme a system for rendering account of the inflation and the standard of living should be worked out. A joint committee has been assigned the task to reduce to the possible reasonable minimum the data which are not published due to certain considerations. Mr. Tasev said, attracting attention to the fact that in each state there are data which are not made public. The chairman of the Central Statistical Department gave an account of the technology of processing the data which makes it impossible to "distort" information, mainly by controlling the authenticity of information received.

Passport Act Regulations Officially Published

AU2508111789 Sofia BTA in English
0822 GMT 25 Aug 89

[Text] Sofia, August 25 (BTA)—The "Official Gazette" today carries the Foreign Travel Passports Act enforcement regulations. The act was passed by the National Assembly last May.

The following types of foreign travel passports will be issued to Bulgarian citizens: standard passports valid for five years to persons travelling abroad in their private

capacity or permanently residing in a foreign country; service passports valid for five years to persons on a business trip, on work, specialization or education abroad; diplomatic passports; and seaman's passports.

The foreign travel passports will be valid for all states.

The Bulgarian citizens holding foreign travel passports will have to apply for a single or a multiple exit visa. No exit visas will be required for travel to Albania, Vietnam, the GDR, China, the DPRK, Cuba, Laos, Mongolia, Poland, Romania, the USSR, Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia.

One hundred leva will be charged for the issue of a foreign travel passport, and an extension of its validity will cost 50 leva.

Decree on Fuel Economy Published in Gazette

AU2308184289 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO
in Bulgarian 22 Aug 89 p 2

[Text] The following more important acts are published in Issue No 65 of DURZHAVEN VESTNIK:

- Extract from Council of Ministers' Decree No 39 of 11 August 1989 on economic use of liquid fuels. The published portion of the decree instructs the organs of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the other specialized control organs to carry out systematic inspections of odometers, tachometers, and other mechanisms and apparatus for measuring the fuel consumption of vehicles and construction, agricultural, and other equipment to establish that they are functioning correctly.
- Extract from Council of Ministers' Instruction No 14 of 2 August 1989 on setting up a Second Cardiological Center in Sofia. Under this instruction, as of 1 July 1989 a Second Cardiological Center, attached to the Medical Academy, is established as a separate legal person with its seat in Sofia, the subject of its activity being the diagnosis, surgical treatment, and rehabilitation of persons with congenital and acquired diseases of the cardiovascular system.
- The Ministry of National Education has published an order on an addition to Order No 7 of 1989 on the conditions and procedure for the formation, alteration, and cessation of labor law relationships with the teaching cadres.

21 Aug Demonstration Repercussions Continue

Foreign Ministry Lodges Protest

LD2408082289 Prague International Service
in English 1900 GMT 24 Aug 89

[Text] The Czechoslovak Foreign Ministry has handed over to representatives of Italy, Holland, Poland, and Hungary a protest against the participation of those countries' citizens in the unlawful demonstration in Prague on 21 August.

The rules of international relations are clear: Citizens of other states are obliged to observe the laws and regulations of the host country. If they fail to do so, they can be prosecuted, and that was precisely the reason why some foreign participants in the provocation at the Wenceslas Square in Prague have been detained. The Czechoslovak authorities have notified the embassies of their countries in Prague and are dealing with the matter in a way that the Hungarian consul, Lajos Taba, described as a gesture of goodwill. It would be hard to believe that the Dutch security forces, for example, would adopt a different attitude towards foreign nationals participating in a banned demonstration in Amsterdam, or that Italian police would passively watch a demonstration supporting the Red Brigades in Rome. Let us recall the conduct of West German police against the Austrian citizens who wanted to take part in a demonstration against nuclear weapons in Wackersdorf. If you recall, the Austrians were detained at the border. Other states use even stricter procedures, and despite all this, Western propaganda pretends that the conduct of the Czechoslovak authorities is out of the ordinary and an exception to the general practice.

The truth, however, is that the laws of civilized conduct apply to international relations, too, and to support what is essentially the export of hooliganism means to reject those rules.

Spokesman on Fate of Detainees

LD2408172789 Prague Domestic Service
in Czech 1700 GMT 24 Aug 89

[Text] Miroslav Pavel, head of the press department of the office of the Federal Government Presidium, speaking at a news briefing following today's government session, replied to questions from a Voice of America correspondent and from representatives of news agencies and other media from Western countries, and also from Hungary and Poland, referring to the antisocialist actions in Czechoslovakia on 21 August this year.

Apart from Prague and Brno, he stated, there had been no violations of public order. As of now, he said, all Czechoslovak and foreign citizens detained on 21 August have been released with the exception of two Hungarian nationals who are in custody under a ruling by the prosecutor's department and charged with violating public order.

A total of 56 foreign nationals have been detained, he said. Miroslav Pavel went on to point out that Czechoslovakia welcomes any visitor to this country who is interested in the life of the people here, our economy, culture, history, and sports. For such tourists, the Czechoslovak Government is continuously improving conditions. Nothing, though, relieves guests in this country of the duty of observing Czechoslovak laws. Miroslav Pavel stressed.

Eight Italians Released

AU2408150689 Rome ANSA in English
1245 GMT 24 Aug 89

[Text] (ANSA) Prague, August 24—All eight Italians detained by Czechoslovak authorities at Monday's demonstration here marking the 21st anniversary of the Soviet-led intervention have been released, a Foreign Ministry spokesman at the Italian Embassy announced Thursday morning.

The Foreign Ministry in Rome on Thursday afternoon confirmed the release of the eight Italians.

TU Body Condemns Unrest

AU2408174289 Prague RUDE PRAVO
in Czech 23 Aug 89 p 2

[Excerpt] Prague (CTK, zr)—At its session on Tuesday [22 August], the Presidium of the Central Trade Union Council condemned attempts to disturb public order, which occurred in Prague Wenceslas Square on 21 August. These provocative actions met with citizens' resistance and are rightly criticized. In this connection, the Presidium took exception to the undignified behavior of some groups and individual citizens from the Hungarian People's Republic, the Polish People's Republic, and Italy. [passage omitted]

Foreign Participation Scored

LD2508091389 Prague CTK in English
0705 GMT 25 Aug 89

[Text] Prague Aug 25 (CTK)—"Every host but also every guest should have, if possible, equal rules of behaviour. If he violates them he stops to be a guest. And this happened unprecedentedly in the republic's capital, Prague, these days", RUDE PRAVO said today.

It pointed out that the Czechoslovak Foreign Ministry lodged a protest with representatives of the Embassies of Italy, the Netherlands, Hungary and Poland against the participation of citizens of these countries in a banned demonstration in the centre of Prague on August 21. The complaint stressed that these citizens misused their stay for activity incompatible with the development of contacts among people as it is set forth by the final document of the Vienna meeting.

"It is well known that some 'tourists' had been preparing for their performance in Prague: both American radio stations (the Voice of America, Radio Free Europe) had

reported their arrival; simply it was not by chance that they found themselves in the centre of the demonstration on August 21. The event had been prepared", the daily stressed.

It pointed out that Czechoslovak citizens travelling to foreign countries do not interfere in their internal affairs. "There has been no such case". "Every country has its problems and solves them in its own way. No country would allow such a gross misuse of tourism", it added.

It has been emphasized many times that our society needs for its work calm, order, that we need to mobilize the forces of the whole society for carrying out restructuring of the economic mechanism and democratization of our life."

"The fate of restructuring is not decided in the streets but mainly at every work place, at all places where prerequisites for further development of our society are being created by active work. Finally, some 'tourists' who showed us their blustery in Prague know best how and where problems must be solved. Nothing better has been invented than honest, reliable work".

Jiri Hajek on Prague Protest, Hope for Change

PM2408112989 Rome LA REPUBLICA
in Italian 22 Aug 89 p 3

[Andrea Tarquini report on 21 August telephone interview with former Czechoslovak foreign minister and dissident leader Jiri Hajek, in Prague, published under general headline "Gag on Protest in Prague"]

[Text] "I was unable to go down onto the square with the young people, but I know from foreign radio reports that there were very many of them there. They defied the police violence; there were young people there from Hungary as well as our own country, shouting 'Long live Dubcek' and even 'Long live Poland!' I have witnessed the birth of a new internationalism, a democratic internationalism for reform, and nothing will be the same again after today, even in Prague." The voice of Jiri Hajek was describing over the telephone to us here in Warsaw the dramatic events happening in Czechoslovakia, a country which refuses to surrender. We heard the live voice of the man who was Dubcek's foreign minister and who courageously denounced the invasion from the rostrum of the UN glass palace—a gesture which got him imprisoned and cost him his party membership.

[Question] Professor Hajek, how have you spent this dramatic day?

[Hajek] I was unable to experience the events in person, because the police were lined up in front of my house from early morning. Plainclothes secret service agents prevented me from going out right until 9 pm. But I know from foreign radios, including Hungarian and Polish radio, that the people did gather in the square.

[Question] What is the political significance of these events as far as you are concerned?

[Hajek] I believe that what has happened is a good thing, for various reasons. First, the people had the courage to take to the street, but they were also able to respond to the appeals made by us democratic oppositionists to maintain calm. There was no violence, and the blood-bath for which the authorities had prepared did not occur. The authorities were ready to carry out brutal repression in response to civil society's free initiatives, but in the event they did not have their way.

[Question] Professor Hajek, were you democratic opposition leaders actually molested by the police?

[Hajek] I cannot tell you what the police may have done: I have spent the entire day trying to contact my comrades, but I failed to find them because their telephones did not happen to be working today. On the other hand I have been able to telephone foreign radio stations.

[Question] What are the consequences for Prague of the developments in Poland?

[Hajek] I believe that all the Polish leaders—the Communists as well as the Solidarity comrades, and also General Jaruzelski, who is showing himself to be a very courageous statesman—are demonstrating a wisdom which our leaders lack. The Poles are capable of achieving national conciliation, or at least of striving for it. It is a difficult task, of course, but the very fact that it is being attempted is positive.

[Question] Do you believe that after today there will be changes at the top of the Czechoslovak Communist Party?

[Hajek] It is too soon to answer that; after a day under house arrest and police checks I certainly cannot tell you whether our rulers really will be able to learn lessons from the reality. I can only hope, as all our citizens hope, that leaders who are more realistic and more rational will be restored to the top positions in our country or else will emerge to meet the occasion after these 21 terrible years.

Hungarian Paper Condemns Compatriots' Conduct

AE2408164689 Prague RUDE PRAVO
in Czech 23 Aug 89 p 7

[“ve”-signed report: “ESTI HIRLAP: Representatives of Hungary?”]

[Text] Budapest (Our correspondent)—The Tuesday [22 August] edition of the Hungarian evening paper ESTI HIRLAP criticizes the participation of a group of Hungarian citizens in the political demonstration in Prague Wenceslas Square. "Apart from an understandable concern in this country, we do not understand those who decided to take part in the Prague demonstration, and traveled there with that intention. We can concede that a person takes a stance on affairs of his own country or the world and expresses that view, especially on issues which

interest us. However, many of us doubt whether someone has the right to interfere in the affairs of a neighboring country by going there. In our country today there is talk about nothing else but that no one should try to interfere in Hungary's internal affairs. But is restraint mandatory only in official formulations of governments and diplomatic offices when in one of the neighboring countries they want to demonstrate for or against something? Do not individuals have any feeling of responsibility that by their presence they also, at the same time, represent their country?" ESTI HIRLAP asks, and in conclusion voices doubts that those persons served Hungary.

Daily Assesses Hungarian TV's Havel Interview

AU2408122589 Bratislava PRAVDA
in Slovak 23 Aug 89 p 2

[Gejza Vileek commentary: "That Would Be Ideal?"]

[Text]—On Monday's [21 August] "Panorama" program on Hungarian television, Vaclav Havel, who has already acquired some kind of right of domicile on this channel, appeared in a repeated recording. In replying to a question on what kind of prospects he sees for the opposition, he listed various ideas and only commented in an aside that if matters were to develop in our country just like in Hungary, well, "that would be ideal." So far, we have only seen a small example of V. Havel's political ideal on our own territory—to be more precise, in Wenceslas Square in Prague: FIDESZ [Union of Young Democrats] activists, those bulls of the political arena.

If they seem to me to be really like bulls, it is not by chance. I recognize them from many events and speeches. They still have not learned much from political practice; however, they have learned one thing well: If they see the color red, they attack. They are a special smudge on Hungary's political palette. Characteristic is their scornful stance toward those who indirectly prepared the Hungarian tragedy in 1956. FIDESZ representatives have said to them: "You were communists and you wanted a better socialism. We are not communists and we do not want any kind of socialism." These were the FIDESZ supporters who during a rally on 15 March of this year carried banners with inscriptions such as "Down with the police state," "1945-1989—Enough is enough," and so on. They bitterly protested, even on television, against the fact that a red standard appeared on one state building alongside the national one during the national day, an act which they called a "deliberate provocation."

So, we had those people in Wenceslas Square on Monday. Apparently, they did not come with tanks but with flowers. However, these flowers have no fragrance but, rather, they stink. Although they are exported.

Hungarians Seen Suffering Under Market Economy

AU2408143189 Bratislava PRAVDA
in Slovak 19 Aug 89 p 4

[Article by Budapest correspondent Vojtech Vesely: "High Prices From Close By: Market Economy in the Test of Social Policy"]

[Excerpts] For locals, the 100-year-old market on Tobukhin Avenue in Budapest is just a food shop occupying 1 hectare of land, for foreigners it is an interesting attraction, the Central European version of an oriental bazaar. [passage omitted]

Language of Prices

One is directly surrounded by prices here, the best thing will therefore be to let them "speak." Let us state beforehand that, according to the valid rate of exchange, 100 forints equals Kcs45. A liter of milk for 12.90 forints thus comes to Kcs5.80 and one egg for 3.40 forints to Kcs1.53. Sugar costs 27.90 forints per kilo (Kcs12.55), bread costs 15 forints per kilo (Kcs6.75) but private businessmen sell even more expensive kinds. Other counters offer honey for 160 forints per kilo (Kcs72), shelled nuts for 368 forints per kilo (Kcs165.60), almonds for 560 forints (Kcs252), and poppy seeds from this year's crop for 102 forints (Kcs45.90). [passage omitted]

The heaps of fruit and vegetables on the counters create the impression of abundance, which—according to economic laws operating under market conditions—should engender low prices. Judge for yourselves whether this is really the case. On Saturday, 12 August—that is, at the peak of the field harvest—one kilo of green peppers, top quality, cost 60 forints (Kcs27), potatoes 10 forints (Kcs4.50), tomatoes 25 forints (Kcs11.25), water melons 10 forints, peaches, top quality, 48 forints (Kcs21.60), pears 32 forints (Kcs14.40), grapes 68 forints (Kcs30.60), and forest mushrooms 800 forints (Kcs360). [passage omitted]

Standing behind a heap of, I would say, 5 kilos of mushrooms is Miklosne Suha, a talkative lady in her forties, from the village of Gyongyosoroszi. She proudly betrays that she had picked the mushrooms herself the preceding day and then, in a worried voice, begins to talk about how well she can use the small extra income in her household because, indeed, life is tough. Her 57-year old husband, a former miner, gets a pension of 4,200 forints, she gets 3,200 forints a month in social assistance, but the rent alone comes to 640 forints. [passage omitted] The daughter got married but to get hold of an apartment she and her husband would need a minimum of 400,000 forints, which is beyond their wildest dreams. [passage omitted]

Scramble for a Second Income

This is not a typical Hungarian family but what is certain is that anxiety about one's existence is typical for most

families in present-day Hungary. The high food prices are even outdone by the high prices of other essentials. The ticket for a city bus costs 6 forints (Kcs2.70), one liter of 92-octane gasoline costs 26 forints (Kcs11.70), a newspaper costs 4.80 forints (Kcs2.16). [passage omitted]

The view prevails here that, although full shops are better than empty shops, such as in Poland, for instance, it is simply impossible for an ordinary wage-earner to make ends meet. The solution lies in a second, usually part-time, job. [passage omitted] A supplemental source of income is a mass phenomenon in Hungary, hidden behind which is a low level of labor productivity and a whole range of deformations in the economy.

Are Small Enterprises the Solution?

Large state enterprises receiving multi-billion subsidies from the state budget are billed here as the root cause of the financial problems which trigger high prices and a solution is seen in their "breakdown" into smaller and "more adaptable" entities and, in many cases, in their complete liquidation. Large, macroeconomic investments are viewed here as "Stalinist megalomania." Could it be that the fault really lies in something which elsewhere, especially in advanced countries, forms the backbone of the economy?

This is why people here talk about Hungary of the future as a country of hundreds of thousands of tiny enterprises thriving under the conditions of the market economy. The complete elimination of the central regulation of wages and the privatization of the means of production are in the offing and the dollar is starting to replace the forint as the internal medium of payment.

Hand in hand with these tendencies, social tension is growing. The rough outlines of the unemployment of hundreds of thousands of people are starting to emerge. The minister of finance recently declared that the acquisition of wealth should not be curtailed but supported. But the problem is that it is not those who give society the most that are getting rich, but those who take away from it the most and, often, those who take most ignominiously. This is borne out by the figures that have been published about so-called invisible earnings (tips and bribes), which exceed the sum of 20 billion forints. This is precisely the sum of the above-plan budget deficit.

Social policy tends to be the sticking point of any economy developing under the market mechanism. So far in Hungary, the market mechanisms are failing this test.

Daily Rejects Advice To Follow Hungary, Poland

AU2408125489 Bratislava PRAVDA
in Slovak 19 Aug 89 p 3

[Jan Osoha commentary: "...They Are Looking for a 'Suitable' Personality: Instructive Instructions From Antisocialist Publication SVEDECTVI"]

[Excerpts] From time to time our editorial offices receive from abroad all sorts of printed matter, which, as a rule,

not only "scientifically" forecast but in a "knowledgeable and foolproof" manner predict the supposedly guaranteed eclipse of socialism, and in which the authors' companions are given "well-grounded" and cunning advice on what they must do in individual socialist countries so that internal chaos, disintegration, and decay is established in them. [passage omitted] One of such "independent" publications is SVEDECTVI [Testimony, Czech-language quarterly published in Paris], a publication literally oozing with anticommunism, which does not occupy an inferior rank in the hierarchy of antisocialist propaganda. This is self-evident as its "independent" publisher is that famous post-February [1948] champion, Mr Pavel Tigrid, who gets his mercenary's pay mostly from American espionage services. The PRAVDA editorial office, too, received one of his printed matters a few days ago, with a delay for unknown reasons. Its content is defined in a two-line message:

—Lead article of the 87th issue of SVEDECTVI, to be published on 10 June 1989;

—Sent out by the SVEDECTVI editorial office for information and discussion.

In the introductory part of the lead article, under the subheads "Report on the State of Central Europe," "Socialist Camp Divided," and "High-Risk Gamble," following "impartial" reflections about the advantages of the Polish and Hungarian forms of settling accounts with communist parties and the socialist system, Mr Tigrid and J. Otava, the authors of the lead article, candidly and appreciatively say, among other things, that "developments in Poland and, above all, in Hungary have progressed to a point where it is possible to speak about a process that could lead to systemic changes." They point out that this process of "revival" involves intricate and radical changes and they call for vigilance, particularly because "inflation and unemployment, which are evident and growing already, are unavoidable." They go on to say that "...in Poland there already exists today a radical opposition, which is growing in strength and which simply does not believe that reform communism or any other communism can resolve anything in the long run. This opposition demands the dismantling of communism." [passage omitted]

Yet the awl comes out of the sack only in the second part of the lead article, in which—under the subheads "CSSR: Political Personality Wanted" and "Will It Be Dubcek, After All?"—Tigrid and Otava elaborate on their instructions from the first half, for the sake of our "irreconcilable democratizers." Let us recall that, generally speaking, in the first half the authors identified—by no means accidentally—with the predatory methods employed by Solidarity and its leaders in their purposeful and uncompromising onslaught and struggle against the party of Polish Communists and against socialism as such. Likewise, they identified with the "development of democratization" in Hungary where, as Messrs Tigrid and Otava observe, the possibility of the communists' electoral defeat and the declaration of

neutrality are not ruled out.... If political developments in our country, too, headed in the same direction as in the countries of the aforesaid neighbors, then Tigris and Otava, too, as follows from their writings, would get something from the West—quid pro quo.

Allow me to make a small digression. While Polish Solidarity men and Hungarian "democratizers" are railing at us because we have not taken the path of dismantling socialism and while they openly support our antisocialists, we—an undemocratic country, in their opinion—tolerate, God knows why, an exchange rate of the koruna against the forint and the zloty which is unbelievably disadvantageous for us, paying for these two currencies much more than they are worth. In this way our working people have to pay for their inflation.

But let us return to our topic: What are they advising us or, more accurately, what are they advising our "progressive elements" and various antisocialist groups? As the first imperative they postulate the demand to change the policy of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ]—to lead it away from the path of a broadly conceived restructuring of the socialist society and to introduce, in lieu of the working people's socialist democracy, a "democracy" of the intellectual elite: a "democracy"—and this is new—without reform communists from the year 1968. [passage omitted]

Although some people claim that reform communism is the only political option for Czechoslovakia today, the authors of the lead article say, the truth is different because "...for the time being, only we, the orphans of the revival of 1968, can put forward a coherent program of action" different from the compromise program of 1968. At this point the authors outdo themselves in political acrobatics when they say that "...meanwhile, reform communism, vintage 1968, provides the best hope of filling the political vacuum. Of course, it needs to be slightly reformed once again so as to match the current urgent need for a functioning compromise. This label offers itself not only as the sole possible alternative but it even has its representative, that is, its symbol...." Because, as Tigris and Otava say, evidently to evoke an atmosphere, "...kind-hearted Sasha [nickname of Dubcek] is popular again, not as an intellectual but as a politician. Vaclav Havel, on the other hand,....enjoys the undisputed respect of a growing number of fellow citizens, but exclusively as a writer, as an intellectual." And to bring the anti-February intellectuals' struggle for power to a successful end, that is, to achieve the seizure of power by dyed-in-the-wool counterrevolutionaries, is another imperative which the authors postulate. They say about this: "If matters really turn out that way, that the reform communists and their program of 1968" (which Dubcek so vehemently defends and whose bringing back to life he demands—editor's note) "once again enter the political game with a chance to make an impact in Czechoslovak society, then it is necessary to express the fear today, and to express it loudly enough, that this would not be a move forward but a move backward, a step back by at least 20 years.... Reform

communism has one thing in common with a blind alley: It leads nowhere, it does not solve anything in the long run."

But, of course, in this struggle it is possible, though only temporarily, to make use of kind-hearted Sasha, who "...will serve temporarily as a symbol; people will follow him, he is likable, he lost and still did not give up...." However, there also exists a different alternative, the authors stress in conclusion. "It is an alternative that is expressly political, clear, and simple. It points in one direction, in the direction of one person who does not want to enter politics." (similarly as Poland's Walesa "does not want"—editor's note) "However, there are situations in history which do not allow an individual of such stature and of such qualities to turn down a political role. On the contrary, they press him into that role. Such will probably be," as SVEDECTVI anticipates, "the immediate fate of...Vaclav Havel." But before this happens, the "orphans of revival"—that is, anticommunists, vintage 1948, associated in the aggressive antisocialist cohort of Charter 77 and its offshoots—will use, as they are convinced, the services of Sasha....

Hungarian National Day's Celebrations Noted

AU2208120089 Bratislava PRAVDA
in Slovak 21 Aug 89 p 4

[Dispatch by Vojtech Vesely, Bratislava PRAVDA correspondent in Budapest: "Celebrations Marked by the Sign of Bread and the Cross in Hungary: Return to Old Traditions"]

[Excerpts] Budapest (Our correspondent)—This year's celebrations of 20th August, the Hungarian National Day, fully reflected the social changes under way in that country lately. This day, officially inscribed among important dates as Constitution Day and, at the same time, as the celebration of new bread and an anniversary of the founding of the Hungarian state by King Stephen I., this year was celebrated in the sign of new bread and the ancient traditions determined by the Catholic church.

The current Constitution of 1949, which enshrines the socialist character of the Hungarian People's Republic, was barely mentioned; this modern tradition was negated without any substantiation at all. [passage omitted]

Almost all ranking politicians and statesmen made speeches during the 2-day celebrations. Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth noted that Hungary was fulfilling its historical mission of building bridges between Eastern and Western Europe. He said that the Hungarian Government condemned the participation in the military intervention in Czechoslovakia on 21 August 1968, and that within the framework of an initiative aimed at reforming the Warsaw Pact it also wants to obtain institutional guarantees against the possibility of such action being repeated. It is worth recalling that the

Presidium of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee said about a similar standpoint of the Political Executive Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party on the Czechoslovak events in 1968 that this was a standpoint that does not appreciate the domestic and foreign political contexts of the aforementioned events and objectively helps forces which oppose socialism in the CSSR and the restructuring processes. [passage omitted]

Gabcikovo Hydroproject Alternatives Weighed

AU2408173889 Prague PRACE in Czech
23 Aug 89 p 2

[CTK report: "Alternative Solution for the Gabcikovo Hydroproject?"]

[Text] Bratislava—The efforts of the builders of the Gabcikovo hydroproject culminated in July with the completion of important tasks connected with the progress of the project, tasks which are important for keeping within the deadlines set by the government for filling the complex with Danubian water, rerouting navigation to the new channel, and putting the new electricity generating unit of the power station into operation in July 1990. It arose from the deliberations of the project's central management held in Gabcikovo yesterday [22 August] that the way the project has been ensured also creates good prerequisites for the coming months of the year, even though the organization of the entire construction and assembly process is not quite free of problems. Jozef Oblozinsky, deputy director of the Water Economy Projects investment enterprise of Bratislava, characterized these problems from the viewpoint of the investor in an interview with CTK.

"In some sectors of the canal which will lead Danubian water in and out, as well as on the power station itself, the progress of construction is not in harmony with the timetable, and its further course has to be directed extremely flexibly. This is the result of the fact that in the present stage the construction and assembly tasks are being carried out in parallel, that the work of individual suppliers is maximally intertwined, and even the smallest shortfall by any one of them creates strain. However, to an overwhelming extent these are problems of an organizational nature which are normal within a big project like this; until now we have always been able to cope with them.

"However, the latest unilateral decision by the Hungarian side to suspend a part of the deliveries not only for Nagymaros, but also for the Gabcikovo hydroproject causes us greater problems. What is involved is the construction of a dam in the Danube's old channel, and rerouting it via the Dunakliti Dam into the Hrusov reservoir, which is preceded by the damming of the Dunasiget arm on Hungarian territory. At the beginning of August, when the Hungarian suppliers were supposed to begin damming the Dunasiget arm, they informed us through a direct investor that, on the instructions of the

Government of the Hungarian People's Republic, they are postponing this work by 1 year. In this way our suppliers' efforts to keep within the deadlines set by the government for fulfilling the project, rerouting navigation, and putting into operation the first electricity generating unit in July 1990 would be wasted. Moreover, they want to dig away the so-called enclosing structure [uzaviraci objekt] between the Danube and the drainage conduit near Palkovicov, which will prevent our suppliers from delivering the technical vessels—which are already needed now—to the vicinity of the power station.

"Reports on the unilateral suspension of work in those sectors, too, have reached the people working on the project—they also saw for themselves that the activity on the right bank of the Danube had stopped. This, understandably has had an unfavorable impact on the working atmosphere; people had to be persuaded to work night-shifts and on days on which work is not normally carried out, even though this is normal practice here. But assuming that the project is to be postponed for 1 year, these measures would make no sense. The situation has improved following the publication of the CSSR Government's note to the Government of the Hungarian People's Republic at the end of last week, in which the CSSR Government takes a firm stand and insists on the interstate agreement being fulfilled, points out the damage which arises as the consequence of the lag in construction work, and lets it be known that it will claim compensation. Our people now expect that the Hungarian side will reassess its decision.

"However, on the basis of the impressions I gathered from the talks that I have attended to date, my personal opinion is that if the Hungarian side makes its decision contingent upon Parliament's approval in October this year, it will not be able to reroute the channel via the Dunakliti Dam within the only possible time frame. Therefore, we are now weighing the possibility of a different technical solution, independent of the Hungarian side. At the moment I do not want to discuss details, but as early as next week we will conduct a survey of the terrain. We are simply taking measures which will make it possible for us to make effective use of our considerable investments on the left bank of the Danube, even if the stance of the Hungarian side continues to remain negative."

Formation of New Polish Government Examined

LD2508090889 Prague CTK in English
0657 GMT 25 Aug 89

[Text] Prague Aug 25 (CTK)—Not only entire Poland but all its sincere friends are waiting for an end to the long government crisis and formation of such a cabinet which would manage to stop the growth of the current negative trends, today's RUDE PRAVO said.

The appointment of Tadeusz Mazowiecki, Solidarity representative, the country's premier is characteristic of

the new situation which occurred in Poland after the June parliamentary elections which were won by the opposition.

"It is an internal affair of our northern neighbours, nevertheless our public follows the developments in Poland with ingenuous interest...not only supreme representatives but also citizens of both our countries have been and are calling for good neighbour relations and their development. But recently there have been also different voices in Poland—harmful, malevolent. They are characteristic only of individuals belonging to extreme Solidarity circles. Their influence is not decisive. Decisive is what will be brought by the future. Mazowiecki will be naturally a partner for us in affairs which our countries have in common", the daily underlined.

"We have followed thoroughly in the past days the statements made by Solidarity Chairman Lech Walesa and new Premier Mazowiecki, according to which Poland will remain a firm link of the Warsaw Treaty and will fulfil all obligations with the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia and other socialist countries. Statements which are binding for their authors", RUDE PRAVO stressed.

The daily comments on the dramatic economic situation of the country, stressing that all that is a reflection of a new strike wave and uncontrolled increase in incomes.

The daily said that without representatives of the Polish United Workers' Party, which has two million members and which is the only party to have a program outlining a way out of the crisis and promising development, the new Cabinet would not correspond with the influence and position of the party in the state. Without the participation of the party it would be impossible to solve all the problems. The words of the new premier demonstrate that he is aware of this. But the new government, as well as the previous ones, will be evaluated by the society not according to statements but according to results, RUDE PRAVO concluded.

Prague Radio Reports Mazowiecki's Policy Plans

LD2408220789 Prague Domestic Service
in Czech 1630 GMT 24 Aug 89

[Text] The Polish Sejm today ratified the Solidarity candidate Tadeusz Mazowiecki as chairman of the Council of Ministers. Our correspondent in Warsaw, Petr Lukes, phoned us the details:

[Lukes] The Sejm approved Tadeusz Mazowiecki's candidature by a clear majority. The new premier is known to be one of Lech Walesa's closest aids and to enjoy the respect of the Polish Catholic Church and the Vatican. In his speech prior to the vote in the Sejm—in other words in his policy statement—Premier Mazowiecki outlined the probable first steps of the new government: In the economic sphere there will be support for private enterprise and the denationalization of the economy. According to Mazowiecki, in the past few decades the law in Poland has been used for political purposes, and therefore, he said, there had to be changes in the Army

and security forces, so that everyone, including those within these institutions, felt that the Army and security forces served society. What these changes are going to be and what they will lead to remains to be seen.

Regarding the media, the new premier was rather more explicit: At a news conference held late today in the palace of the Council of Ministers, he stressed once again that monopoly had to be ended as soon as possible, and replaced by pluralism. In response to attacks by Solidarity journalists on Jerzy Urban, the current minister in charge of radio and television, Tadeusz Mazowiecki said that as far as cadre questions are concerned, he would make his position clear through the actual implementation of his intention to pluralize the media.

He would like to form a government by the end of August, but this is a very short deadline and he does not know whether he can meet it. He cannot imagine there being any disagreement with the PZPR [Polish United Workers Party] in forming the new government.

Czechoslovakia was referred to several times during the news conference in the context of Solidarity's support and sympathies for Charter 77, and in relation to Czechoslovakia's attitude to Solidarity. Premier Mazowiecki reiterated that his government would maintain relations of partnership with all Warsaw Pact countries, adding that the first congratulations received today on his election had come from the GDR.

Tadeusz Mazowiecki wound up by telling newsmen that immediately after ending the news conference he would be calling Pope John Paul II in Rome, and immediately after, the first Solidarity premier in Poland would be meeting Lech Walesa.

Johanes Receives U.S. Democratic Senators

LD2408212489 Prague CTK in English
1818 GMT 24 Aug 89

[Text] Prague Aug 24 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jaromir Johanes received here Thursday a group of four American Democratic senators, led by Senator Alan Cranston from California, to exchange views on the international situation and bilateral relations.

Jaromir Johanes explained Czechoslovakia's attitude towards the conclusions of the Vienna follow-up meeting in the spheres of strengthening of confidence, disarmament, economic cooperation and human rights. He informed the American senators of the Czechoslovak initiatives, mainly the proposal for creating a zone of confidence, cooperation and good neighbourly relations on the line of contact between the Warsaw Treaty and NATO countries, and also other initiatives concerning protection of the environment in central Europe.

The Czechoslovak minister pointed to the necessity of removing the existing obstacles the American side lays in

the path of further development of economic and trade cooperation between the two countries. He stressed Czechoslovakia's readiness to develop relations on the basis of mutual equality, bilateral advantage and non-interference in internal affairs.

He also answered the senators' questions concerning the current development and the process of restructuring in Czechoslovakia.

Officials Sign Trade Agreement With China

LD2408212889 Prague CTK in English
1930 GMT 24 Aug 89

[Text] Prague Aug 24 (CTK)—At the end of the 5th session of the Czechoslovak-Chinese Commission for Economic, Trade and Scientific-Technological Cooperation, heads of the two delegations—Czechoslovak Deputy Premier Jaromir Obzina and Chinese Minister of Energy Resources Huang Yicheng—signed a document on its conclusions here today.

Development of trade relations, economic and technological cooperation between the two countries has been discussed during the session. Satisfaction with the results of the fulfilment of the protocol on 1988 trade exchange was expressed during the session. The volume of 1989 exports and imports between Czechoslovakia and China is worth 1,330 million Swiss francs. The commission appreciated the establishment of direct contacts in economy and trade between the Czech Socialist Republic and the Chinese Jiangsu Province.

A session of the permanent working group for power engineering is to take place in Beijing this year and that of the working groups for engineering and metallurgy in Prague.

'Pan-European Picnic' Severely Criticized

AU2308131689 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak
22 Aug 89 p 7

[Jozef Topolansky article: "Poisonous Outbursts of Passion"]

[Text] Neo-Nazis are becoming active in the Federal Republic of Germany. Not only the upcoming 50th anniversary of the outbreak of the Second World War, in which the fascist plague exterminated dozens of millions of people, but the benevolence, even the support, of many official authorities in the FRG is providing them with the opportunity. How else, for example, can Saturday's [19 August] event by Hitler's posthumous children in Wunsiedel (R. Hess, the "Fuhrer's" deputy, is buried there) be evaluated, when they paraded armed with truncheons, knives, pistols, tear gas...under police protection?

An event even more worthy of condemnation took place at the end of last week on the border between the GDR and the FRG: two men fired gunshots from West German territory into the village of Wahlhausen in the GDR and caused great material damage. Only by chance

were none of the villagers or members of the GDR border units wounded or even killed.

During the current weeks, European nations are recalling the events of 50 years ago, events which led to one of the most appalling cataclysms in the history of mankind, to commemorate those who died so that we and our children might live in peace. These events are also being remembered in order to caution today's and future generations, because the fascist plague—as events in the FRG are proving—has not expired. Revanchism, with the aid of lies, ensnares the mind, and mainly the young people. It begins with an appeal for "freedom," for a change to the borders, for a "greater Germany".... And what then?

It aims its tentacles at some (mainly young) citizens of the GDR and—first of all—promises them the earth. To help in this it acquires the most reactionary forces in Europe and it seeks allies and helpers on the rubbish heaps of history who, in their euphoria, almost see their own stars appearing in the firmament. How can one otherwise define the "pan-European picnic" which took place in Sopron on Saturday, close to the Austro-Hungarian border? It had the label of peace and freedom and the chairman of the so-called pan-European movement, Otto Habsburg himself, whose dynasty suppressed and oppressed central European nations for hundreds of years, presided over it. This arrogance, cynicism, and hypocrisy was passed off as "the wish of a small man for a free and peaceful Europe."

Outbursts of the passions and emotions of monarchists, neo-Nazis, and all the other ultra-right-wing forces accompany—as the events from Wahlhausen confirm—actual outbursts. Only the decisive resistance of the democratic public in all states can limit them. In recent days, well-known progressive and public officials, scientists, and writers from the FRG, affiliated in the Krefeld initiative, confirmed this. They propose that 1 September of this year (the 50th anniversary of the outbreak of the Second World War) become the first day of "the future of Europe." A Europe of peace, without wars, without weapons, but also without those confrontationist forces which are too fixed upon the past when they suppressed, oppressed, and murdered in the name of an order which they had concocted only for themselves.

Leaders Congratulate Romania on National Day

AU2408125089 Prague RUDE PRAVO
in Czech 23 Aug 89 p 1

[CTK report: "Congratulations to Romania"]

[Text] Prague—Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ [Czechoslovak Communist Party] Central Committee; CSSR President Gustav Husak; and CSSR Premier Ladislav Adamec, have sent the following congratulatory telegram to Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP [Romanian Communist Party] general secretary and president of the

Romanian Socialist Republic; and Constantin Dascalescu, prime minister of the Romanian Socialist Republic, on the occasion of their country's national day:

Esteemed comrades: On the occasion of the national day of the Romanian Socialist Republic—the 45th anniversary of Romania's liberation from fascist rule—we are sending to you, the RCP Central Committee, and the Government and the people of the Romanian Socialist Republic comradely greetings and congratulations on behalf of the CPCZ Central Committee, the Government and the people of the CSSR, as well as on our own behalf.

The antifascist and national liberation struggle of Romanian patriots, supported by the victorious advance of the Soviet Army, culminated in the memorable days of 1944 with the overthrow of the hated dictatorship. The Romanian people chose the socialist path of development. The correctness of that decision has been affirmed by the results accomplished in all spheres of social life in the past 45 years. Their foundation is the policy of the RCP, the creative abilities and the selfless endeavor of the working people of your country, the collaboration of the Romanian Socialist Republic with the fraternal states of the Warsaw Pact and CEMA. We cordially congratulate you on those successes.

We value the active share of the Romanian Socialist Republic in the peaceful foreign policy of the socialist countries and the results which it has achieved in the endeavor to stabilize the situation in the Balkans, and in the endeavor aimed at friendly and mutually advantageous coexistence among states with different social systems in that region.

The Czechoslovak working people highly value the close alliance of our parties and states, the bilaterally beneficial cooperation, and the firm friendship between the Czechoslovak and the Romanian people. We are convinced that the realization of the conclusions from the talks of the general secretaries of the two parties, as well as the program for further intensifying production cooperation and specialization between the CSSR and the Romanian Socialist Republic, signed in Prague last May, will help to further develop mutual relations in the spirit of friendship, cooperation, and mutual assistance.

Esteemed comrades, on this important day we wish to you and all Romanian people many further successes in the work for the prosperity of your fatherland, in the implementation of the conclusions of the 13th RCP Congress and the statewide conference.

Government Discusses Economic Growth, Troubles

LD2408211389 Prague CTK in English
1558 GMT 24 Aug 89

[Text] Prague Aug 24 (CTK)—The Czechoslovak Government held a plenary session here today, discussing an

analytical report on the development of the Czechoslovak national economy in the first six months of 1989.

Economic growth slightly exceeded the intentions of the plan. The development of the standard of living is altogether in tune with this trend. The fact that some negative tendencies—particularly the country's debts in hard currency, the unfounded growth of incomes and excessive or ineffective capital construction—have slowed down, is positive. This is also due to this year's mild winter and the favourable development of world prices.

However, the principal problems of the Czechoslovak economy have not ceased to exist. Extensive characteristics still prevail in economic development, the technological standard and the quality of Czechoslovak production has not improved and the total costs are growing. Many enterprises do not fulfil the plan.

On the basis of measures taken by the Czechoslovak Government, supplies of a number of articles, particularly consumer goods, have improved. However, the troubles with supplies have not been entirely removed yet.

The government has adopted a number of measures which are to remove these shortcomings.

The Czechoslovak Government charged all its members with the preparation and implementation of another set of measures aimed mainly at improving the financial situation, restoring economic balance, removing short supplies of some articles and services on the Czechoslovak market and strengthening the volume and effectiveness of exports designed for sophisticated markets.

The Czechoslovak Government was acquainted with the assessment of the Czechoslovak participation in the comprehensive program for scientific technological progress of the member countries of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance until the year 2000. Czechoslovak organizations participate in the solution of 622 out of the program's 1,300 specified tasks. 200 tasks out of this number have been dealt with already and a total of 63 have been completed. 311 prototypes of equipment, devices, materials and technologies have been developed during this process.

The Czechoslovak Government also approved a resolution concerning the accords and recommendations adopted at the 74th session of the International Labour Conference in 1987.

The government heard a report from the Czechoslovak interior minister on the situation in the country and appreciated the activity of security forces and their well-considered actions during anti-socialist events on August 21, 1989.

Knotek Comments on Economic Restructuring

AUT808181789 Prague RUDE PRAVO
in Czech 17 Aug 89 p 3

[Article by Ivan Knotek, member of the Presidium and secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee: "Concentrating Attention on the Economy"]

[Text] When looking back at the period which has elapsed since the seventh session of the CPCZ [Czechoslovak Communist Party] Central Committee, that is, since December 1987, we can note that we are getting the first, partial results from implementing its conclusions. These results are reflected in the legal, organizational, and cadre procedures, which are indispensable for restructuring. Thanks to the energetic activity of experts, functionaries, and staffers of the state economic organs, representative bodies, and party and trade union organizations, important laws were adopted in a brief time span: In addition to the Law on State Enterprises which was passed earlier, these include the Law on National Economic Planning, the Labor Code, and 13 additional laws and legal norms that are indispensable for the realization of restructuring.

Before the end of the year we have to discuss important draft laws such as the Law on the Czechoslovak State Bank, the Law on Levies to the State Budget, the Foreign Exchange Law, and others.

Today we can note that the requirement to convert to a two-tier management system has been complied with within the framework of organizational restructuring. A total of 116 mid-level management components, former economic production units, and concern enterprises were abolished, and state enterprises have been created.

The Most Important Issues Are Still Ahead of Us

The organizational changes have led to the reduction of the number of management personnel, particularly in the central bodies, by more than 5,700 persons. These, of course, are only the organizational prerequisites for satisfying the needs of society better and more efficiently.

The following decisive and most important issues concerning restructuring are still ahead of us:

- Rationalizing the entire system of the national economy's management and planning,
- Setting up a unified executive management center at both the federal and the republic level,
- And by doing this, creating a favorable economic climate for the prosperity of independent state enterprises which make full use of the advantages of the socialist, large-scale production system, stressing the self-financing principle.

In order to get to thoroughly know, [as published] we must analyze the individual processes of the development of restructuring in our country as well as in other

socialist countries, and utilize the results of this knowledge to complete both the theoretical and practical conclusions of restructuring.

Communists, as well as nonparty members, are extensively discussing the purpose of restructuring and very differing views and standpoints are even appearing. We would be opposing historical development and would objectively become the element that detains it if we would only for a moment concede that Czechoslovakia does not need restructuring. The CPCZ, which is the initiator of restructuring, does not conceal that restructuring has been inspired by the CPSU, by the April session of its Central Committee in 1985, and by the subsequent 17th CPSU Congress.

At the same time, the fact remains that the 17th CPCZ Congress determined the strategic line of the acceleration of the national economy's social and economic development, and that it came forward with the demand to restructure the economic mechanism.

The seventh CPCZ Central Committee session determined concrete tasks. As Comrade Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, said, "By determining the program for the economic and social restructuring, the party has proved its ability to provide an answer to the issues of the time, and to determine realistic prospects for our country's further socialist development." This requires carrying out a thorough analysis of the current state of our economy.

Therefore, we are returning very critically and with full responsibility to the past to find the reason for the insufficient performance of the Czechoslovak economy, analyzing the economic and social development, and under the conditions of the economic reform, adopting measures which will lead to fundamental changes regarding the performance and efficiency of all branches of the national economy.

It is generally known that we regard the slow implementation of scientific-technical development in practice, the complex structure of the national economy, its high energy- and material-intensiveness, the broad range of the manufactured engineering products, the insufficient appreciation of branches of the consumer and light industries, and the inadequate development of the tertiary sphere to be the greatest hindrance.

Therefore, structural changes in the national economy—first of all, making faster use of advanced science and technology in every enterprise, in every organization—are the key for resolving most problems.

Organizational Prerequisites

In the current stage, the exceptionally important thing is to concentrate attention on creating economic prerequisites for restructuring. In addition to the generally desirable shift in the political climate connected with a

broad scope for the development of socialist democracy, and the more active participation of citizens when it comes to submitting proposals aimed at solving practical problems, including issues connected with the environment, it is necessary to seek and find new, multifaceted ways for them to participate in administering common affairs. Dialogue with citizens and their concrete participation in the work of bodies and organizations of the National Front and national committees is indispensable.

What do we regard as being of crucial importance in the forthcoming stage? Above all, concentrating on strengthening the organizational structures of the newly established state enterprises and cooperative organizations as **the fundamental prerequisite for building a unified, strong material-technical base of the national economy.**

Also connected with this is the election of independent administrative bodies and directors. Following our experiences from the first and second stages, it is necessary to stress the responsibility of party bodies and organizations for seriously preparing for elections in terms of cadres. Trade union organizations and bodies which take upon themselves, with the founders [zakladatele], the task of organizing the preparations for the preliminary gatherings of the working people and the presentation of candidates play an indispensable role in this respect.

It is necessary for the existing forms of the management structures to be objectively assessed everywhere. In each case—even where there are objective reasons for selection being narrowed down to a single candidate—work collectives must assess the work of candidates to date. They must demand that when introduced they present clear programs and that they present their ideas of the enterprise's work under the new conditions.

The selection of candidates based on competitive bidding for jobs must be practiced more extensively. The founders—ministries and national committees—play an indispensable role in this. Primary party organizations and enterprise committees must win over the collectives of the working people to giving their trust to the most suitable candidates not by forcing them, but through mass political work. It is not easy to select several candidates who have, based on their abilities, theoretically the same chance.

All the greater is the responsibility of the gatherings of the working people or delegates of work collectives when it comes to electing a director; a director who will be able to ensure under the conditions of the economic reform the long-term prosperity of an enterprise, the fulfillment of obligations toward society, development, and employees' social security, will be a boon for the enterprise and its future.

Also, the election of the council of a work collective is not self-serving. Its contribution, above all, is that it creates democratic scope for people's participation in resolving enterprises' affairs, making it possible for them to take a stand on all fundamental issues. Another

important thing is that the CPCZ's enterprise organizations and enterprise committees should address all issues connected with fulfilling enterprises' social functions and, at the same time, with actively solving problems of development and with safeguarding social functions.

The Quality Work Is of Greatest Importance

Despite the generally positive results achieved in the first half year, a number of economic problems have been arising in many enterprises connected with an increasing level of insolvency, the growth of inventories, and other marketing problems, with modernization, innovation, production quality, the number of shifts worked, and work discipline. For example, in the first 6 months the losses of enterprises reached Kcs6.3 billion. A quarter of the enterprises account for the shortfall of gross production in this extent.

We are disquieted by the very differing approaches to the management of inventories, the value of which has risen by Kcs15 billion. This is the consequence of the lack of coordination between production and marketing and of the continuing problems with spare parts, but it is also the consequence of the enterprises' poorly organized work. A number of them are temporarily insolvent. In many places a defensive [obranarska] policy still endures, which is taking place on the level of the enterprise-ministry-bank "debates." However, this "economic game" will get objectively new conditions after 1 January of next year.

Thus far, not all enterprises have been taking seriously the fact that should they not create their own resources, this will also affect, among other things, their funds for remuneration. Therefore, it is necessary that the management systems of all enterprises and all organizations realize the problem of self-financing. There even have been cases of enterprises attempting to speculate by making profits through unjustified price markups, which have been registered, for example, in public catering enterprises. The task of the appropriate central bodies active in the sphere of finance and prices is, with the participation of the national committees, to quickly put an end to such practices. **After all, creating profits cannot be done exclusively to the detriment of consumers.**

We are assessing the developments in the organizations of the agricultural and food complex as being generally positive. Despite the partial problems which continue as a consequence of the incorrect assignment of some enterprises to categories in accordance with the climatic and geographic conditions in which they operate, it has been possible in that brief time span to assess the positive contribution of abolishing the regional and district agricultural administrations, and, in particular, the support for the initiative of the enterprises of the united farmers cooperatives, state farms, the food industry, and services created by the new economic rules. Thanks to farmers and the food industry there are enough foodstuffs on the market.

This trend must not only be maintained, but it has to be further developed, above all, through an entire system of economic instruments. The general truth is being confirmed that not only differing production and economic approaches yield different results, but also differing approaches and the standard of management.

One has to pay great attention to remuneration and thus also to solving the problems of social justice. It is necessary to observe everywhere the principle applied in socialism: to everyone according to the quantity, quality, and social importance of the work done.

In the management system we must put an end to poor quality work without prosecuting its author. He who does not use work time well must be prosecuted. It is impossible to continue to tolerate goods of different quality being allocated to the domestic market and for exports. All of these until now tolerated anomalies must be eliminated under the conditions of restructuring. The faster we do this, the better. In this respect it is possible to enumerate dozens of good examples, such as Frigera Kolin, Chepos Brno, ZTS Martin, Crystalex Novy Bor, Agrokombinat Slusovice, the Lehnice United Agricultural Cooperative, with their comprehensive management systems, material incentives, and social security, as well as the experience of some other enterprises.

Naturally, the resolution of these problems involves brushes between ranking personnel or foremen and their subordinates. Therefore, party and trade union organizations must provide support for those in charge, for whom—when it comes to ensuring tasks—the only objective yardstick are employees' concrete results.

What is particularly necessary is to eliminate the long-standing practice that everyone is entitled to remuneration regardless of the work done. We know that to differentiate among individuals is a very demanding job, but differentiate we must. This is the fundamental requirement of social justice. Whoever works more and better, in more demanding conditions, or more responsibly, must also be better paid. This applies to all branches of the national economy, including the superstructure.

Of exceptional importance for the upcoming stage is to consistently implement the tasks determined by the 14th session of the CPCZ Central Committee in order to make quicker use of the results of scientific-technical progress in practice and to push through structural changes, especially in the sphere of engineering and the electrotechnical industry as the key branches of the national economy.

Throughout the following period we must achieve fundamental changes in the approach toward the qualitative indicators of the plan fulfillment, in the utilization of economic instruments in the enterprise sphere, in a more consistent assertion of the principles of economizing, and in the growth of social labor productivity. The principles of economic accountability management and remuneration must be developed at all levels.

At the same time, we must in no case forget the social and cultural development of work collectives; we must not forget to create conditions for the state enterprises and cooperative organizations to be able to take an active part—with the national committees—in resolving the problems of the tertiary sphere.

We must pay exceptional attention to capital investment issues. We must make use of the moratorium on newly started projects, in effect since 15 May of this year, to create conditions for improving the situation in the sphere of investments and for gradually consolidating the construction sector. Despite a number of successes and the overwhelmingly honest work of its workers, the construction sector is a stagnating branch which lacks the necessary dynamics. As the consequence of the continuing number of unfinished projects and the growth of budgetary costs, it is another obstacle to the national economy's dynamic development.

Practically resolving the economic problems of restructuring means perfecting the economic methods of management, creating a favorable economic climate for the efficient utilization of economic instruments, stimulating the interest of individuals and work collectives in fulfilling tasks, and thus creating prerequisites for successfully implementing the social and entrepreneurial function of every organization.

The preparations for implementing the new economic mechanism to the greatest possible extent throughout the national economy, beginning 1 January 1990, is connected with the task—in addition to strengthening the basic component of the state enterprise—of **forming a unified executive management center**. This center was formed on 1 July of this year.

The 30-percent reduction of the number of staffers in central bodies is only one side of the coin. The second one is to achieve a state in which a two-tier principle of management would be fully implemented in practice and the fundamental issues connected with the rationalization of management would be finalized in a way that also permits the unified executive center to begin to efficiently exert influence through overwhelmingly economic instruments.

At this point one also has to say openly that we still will have to do a lot of work regarding changing the methods and forms of management, delegating powers and responsibility, and assuming guarantees that the economic reform will be successfully and consistently realized.

Following the experience derived from experiments to date, the unified center faces an exceptionally demanding task: working out economic instruments for at least 5 years in advance which will facilitate the energetic development of socialist entrepreneurship by state and cooperative organizations.

We must successfully complete the restructuring of wholesale prices and of systems to set and control them.

of the systems of taxes and levies. We must put finishing touches on export incentives and at the same time ensure deliveries to the domestic market. We must create legal and organizational room for the full effect of supplier-user relations on the principles of economic agreements. We must actively resolve problems connected with the quality of products and innovation processes. We must resolve problems in capital investment, formulate state programs, and through them secure priority orders.

There also are considerable tasks ahead as regards resolving the development of wages, social and old age security, as well as putting finishing touches on issues concerning the conduct of enterprises, work collectives, and individuals in a period of extraordinary situations, when a socioeconomic conflict could occur while resolving work-related problems. We also must solve fundamental questions connected with the organizational and economic restructuring of the nonproduction sphere, as well as problems connected with the involvement of the Czechoslovak economy in the international division of labor, especially with the USSR and the CEMA countries. All of these are tasks that require concentrating the maximum attention of the ministries of the national governments, the federal government, and the legislative bodies when drafting, discussing, and adopting legal norms and measures.

The principles of restructuring considerably differentiate between the tasks of the unified center and the enterprise base. Observing them in practice means preventing shifting responsibility. This means applying new approaches in management. This is the center's responsibility; the enterprise sphere cannot be made responsible for this. This also determines the principle of responsibility.

The Party—Guarantor of Changes

The work of the communist party—as the initiator of restructuring and the guarantor that the tasks of the economic reform and of social restructuring will be consistently implemented—must be in the center and in the lead of such a solution.

What does this task involve? It involves, above all, consistent clarification of the substance and aims of restructuring and the winning over of all citizens who work within the sphere of influence of primary party organizations for the idea of restructuring.

Every fellow citizen must be persuaded that **restructuring means changing in a specific way one's own conduct, one's own approach to meeting tasks**. Restructuring means the honest fulfillment of tasks at every place of work, connected with deserved compensation for the accomplished work. It is not only an attractive slogan of the future, but it is also a call for greater labor discipline and a better quality of work, linked with essential differentiation and with the critical evaluation of those who do not discharge their duties. The period is over in which we could afford to tolerate ad infinitum those who prefer to talk about, and criticize, global problems instead of

publicly demonstrating what they are actually doing and what part they play in fulfilling the tasks of their enterprise and in developing society.

Our Communist Party has from its inception been characterized by its revolutionary spirit, which, with the enthusiasm of the people and with its ability to enlist them for the ideas of the party, has allowed it to guide the fellow citizens and to tackle even the most complex and significant tasks such as industrialization, the building of socialist agriculture, or the cultural revolution, and to reach other important milestones in the more than 40-year-old history of building socialism.

The quality of the present stages of development requires that we show the same degree of enthusiasm and an even greater degree of vigor, consistency, and foresight in implementing the tasks concerning the restructuring of our society. This is why the conviction is essential that our path is correct, that there is no alternative to restructuring if socialism is to be perfected and made more attractive for us and the coming generations, if Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev's idea of "more socialism—more democracy" is to be creatively applied in practice.

The only way to triumph in the complicated clashes of ideas between socialism and capitalism, in the struggle between divergent views on current social developments and on the coexistence of these two social systems, is through the greater efficiency and performance of the entire national economy, through the sufficient generation of material resources for the development of the living and cultural standards of the people.

The crucial issue today is to concentrate all of the energy, skills, and talents of the workers class, farmers, and the intelligentsia, on the basis of knowledge of mistakes made in the past, on implementing the demanding programs connected with the new quality of the development of socialist democracy and economic management, in the center of which is man. We must not allow idle talk and demagogic slogans and appeals to divert attention from that which matters most today—the comprehensive meeting of tasks in restructuring our society. Activities organized by illegal groups, which are lacking in the most fundamental thing, in constructiveness, certainly do not contribute to a successful course of action.

We are in the period prior to annual membership meetings, party conferences, and the 18th CPCZ Congress, at which we will assess the results of individual places of work and lay down tasks for the period to come.

It is important that in their work party organizations devote attention to all questions concerning the lives and the activity of Communists and fellow citizens which appear within their sphere of influence. The quality of control activity must be improved, party organizations must demand that the tasks formulated by the party be fulfilled everywhere. The forms of our work need to be changed. The method of issuing orders and commands,

still routinely used in many cases, must be abandoned. Economic bodies must not be supplanted and the method of political guidance must be consistently employed.

Everywhere, we must raise the level of political involvement by party groups, primary party organizations, plant and all-enterprise committees, and district and regional party committees.

We are at a stage in which we cannot allow anything to develop uncontrolled. We must therefore get rid of formalism, ostentatiousness, and inconsistency everywhere,

strengthen contacts with the working people, and more successfully influence the further social and economic development.

We avail ourselves of all the prerequisites—provided that the workplaces step up their activity—to successfully meet the targets of the 1989 national economic plan and to successfully enter the closing year of the Eighth 5-Year Plan when, effective from 1 January 1990, all branches of the national economy will operate under the conditions of the restructured economic mechanism.

Western Media 'Campaign of Calumny' Protested

LD2408120389 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1022 GMT 24 Aug 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Springer newspapers and Western television are spreading rumors again that the GDR intends to restrict trips by its citizens to Hungary. As the GDR Foreign Ministry spokesman stated officially, there is not one word of truth in this. Such lies are being fabricated in order to create confusion against the GDR in the style of the cold war. The truth is that GDR citizens continue to travel to Hungary as usual in the same way they take trips to Bulgaria and Romania.

The inventions of the Springer press and Western television are part of the campaign of calumny against the GDR and its citizens which has been going on for weeks. It is an attempt to provoke, and by any means, to bring about confrontation and to intervene more and more unrestrainedly in the internal affairs of the GDR. The "caring duty" toward GDR citizens which is claimed in contradiction to all concluded treaties and the Helsinki Final Act, and the disrespect for GDR citizenship are only designed to put a strain on the relations between the two German states.

The assertion that Hungary is being classified by the GDR as a Western foreign country is also outrageous. The German Democratic Republic is linked in friendship with the Peoples Republic of Hungary and continues to develop relations with it constantly. Those who poison the political atmosphere in the Western centers of diversion and editorial offices can change nothing in this respect.

The daily continued reporting from the front on the presence of GDR citizens in diplomatic representations of the FRG abroad, on GDR citizens's emigration aims to seduce people and force them into an uncertain fate. Western television is thereby being used unscrupulously and openly in order to incite GDR citizens by means of organizational directions to leave their homeland. As during the cold war, smuggling human beings, the illegal channelling out of people, is being practiced. Those who live eternally in the past have been gaining appropriate experiences in this area for decades.

Contrary to all the hypocrisy being put on show, those who pull the strings in this unscrupulous reporting from the front are acting in reality against the interests of the citizens of both German states, against normal relations between the GDR and the FRG, to which the German Democratic Republic has always committed itself and to which it will continue to do so.

300 More GDR Refugees Flee From Hungary

LD2508090189 Hamburg DPA in German
0827 GMT 25 Aug 89

[Text] Eisenstadt/Budapest (DPA)—The influx of GDR refugees from Hungary to Austria continues unabated. The police authorities in Eisenstadt, Austria, reported

today that at least another 300 GDR citizens crossed the border illegally over the past 24 hours.

After being initially cared for in reception camps, most of them were taken to the FRG Embassy in Vienna, where they were given the necessary papers for traveling on to the Federal Republic.

According to the Hungarian foreign minister, Gyula Horn, there are still about 150,000 to 200,000 GDR citizens in Hungary as tourists at present. Increasing numbers of them do not want to return to the GDR.

Horn said, according to press reports: "It is not in our interests for these numbers to rise.... We would like to see the issue settled as quickly and smoothly as possible." It must be solved by the FRG and the GDR.

Willi Stoph Congratulates New Polish Premier

LD2408172989 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1719 GMT 24 Aug 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, has conveyed best wishes for success to Tadeusz Mazowiecki on the occasion of his election as chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Polish People's Republic. Willi Stoph expressed the hope that the traditional relations of close friendship, good-neighborliness, and comprehensive cooperation between the GDR and the Polish People's Republic will continue to develop.

Honecker, Stoph Greet Romania on National Day

AU2408131789 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND
in German 23 Aug 89 p 1

[ND report: "GDR-Romanian Relations Characterized by Friendship"]

[Text] East Berlin—Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] and chairman of the GDR State Council, and Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, conveyed the following telegram to Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party [RCP] and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, and to Constantin Dascalescu, prime minister of the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania:

Esteemed comrades:

On the occasion of the 45th anniversary of the victory of the revolution of the social and national anti-fascist and anti-imperialist liberation of Romania, we convey to you, the RCP Central Committee, the State Council, the government, and the people of the Socialist Republic of Romania, on behalf of the SED Central Committee, the State Council, the Council of Ministers, and the people of the GDR, our most cordial greetings and congratulations.

The armed uprising of 23 August 1944 marked a turning point in the history of the Romanian people. It paved the way for profound political, economic, and social changes. In the course of the past 45 years the picture of Romania has decisively changed. Under the leadership of the RCP, a socialist industrial-agricultural state emerged with a huge industrial potential and a developed agriculture. The achievements that have been attained by the Romanian working people in the years of socialist construction are highly appreciated by the GDR.

Together with the other states that are united in the Warsaw Pact, the GDR and the Socialist Republic of Romania are making an active contribution toward strengthening socialism and consistently implementing the policy of peace, disarmament, and international cooperation.

We note with satisfaction that the close relations between our parties, states, and people, which are firmly based on the principle of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism, are continually further strengthened. The working meeting of last November between the leading representatives of our two parties and states generated further future-oriented momentum.

We are convinced that the relations between the GDR and the Socialist Republic of Romania, which have been characterized by friendship and comradely cooperation, will continue to successfully develop for the benefit of both peoples and states.

We wish you, dear comrades, all Communists, and the entire people of Romania much success in implementing the decisions of the 13th RCP Congress. At the same time we convey to you our best wishes for your health and well-being.

Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council;

Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers.

NVA Colonel on Tank Scrapping, Conversion

*LD2508092689 East Berlin Berliner Rundfunk
in German 1130 GMT 22 Aug 89*

[Interview with Colonel Helmut Erdmann of the National People's Army by correspondent Claus Rehfeld on the "Pulse of the Times" program]

[Text] [Erdmann] The decision made by the National Defense Council in January this year on unilaterally reducing military National People's Army [NVA] potential is being implemented on schedule. Based on today's state of implementation, we will reach our objective by the time World Peace Day is celebrated—then altogether 50 medium-sized tanks will have been dismantled and scrapped, and another 20 tanks will be in the process of dismantling and scrapping. Let me state that thus far, 42 tanks have been dismantled. Thus we have reached our goal of dismantling between 12 and 16 tanks per month.

By joint efforts with the metal processing combine, all resulting tank material can be passed on to the combine as secondary raw material. Then it may be used in our national economy. As regards preparing some 150 tank undercarriages for the use in the national economy, the NVA is currently preparing the delivery of the first 20 undercarriages to the national economy, which is based on a plan confirmed by the chairman of the Council of Ministers. Concurrently, in some industrial fields investigations are being conducted as to whether such technology fits into the economy and how great its benefits are—for example, in power stations, in the lignite mining industry, and other sectors. As you know, the Baerwalde open-pit lignite mining facility, part of the Knappenrode Glueckauf enterprise, is currently testing the first lifting unit by using the undercarriage of a T-54/T-55 tank. Both undercarriages are not much different, let me stress that.

[Rehfeld] Have there already been inquiries by the NATO states, I mean in Vienna, as to problems and experiences made during the conversion and scrapping of tanks in the GDR—so that they might consider them when carrying out reduction steps?

[Erdmann] I am not aware of such inquiries.

Nemeth, Grosz Meet U.S. Congress Delegation

LD2308213989 Budapest MTI in English
1920 GMT 23 Aug 89

[Text] Budapest, August 23 (MTI)—Miklos Nemeth, chairman of the Council of Ministers, met the U.S. Congress delegation, headed by Senator Alan Cranston, in the parliament building on Wednesday. Republican Representative Hamilton Fish also joined the delegation.

In the course of the talks, the prime minister stressed the importance of the U.S. initiatives made during President Bush's visit to Hungary, and expressed the hope that they would be supported by the U.S. Congress. Afterwards, Mr Nemeth gave a concise briefing about the state of the Hungarian economy, the being taken steps to create a market economy, as well as the home political situation and the results of the trilateral political coordination talks.

Then, the prime minister answered questions about the forthcoming elections, the constitution under preparation, the authority of the president of the Republic, and the international correlation of Hungarian reforms.

The discussions were attended by Laszlo Kovacs, under secretary of state at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, also met the delegation at Central Committee headquarters, where he outlined the political and economic conditions in Hungary and the country's relations with the socialist and capitalist states, particularly the Soviet Union.

Speaking about opportunities for developing Hungarian-U.S. business links, Trade Minister Tamas Beck went into detail about the chances for working capital to flow into Hungary and the related priorities and expectations of the Hungarian Government.

During an informal conversation with Colonel-General Ferenc Karpati, minister of defence, the American guests asked about changes in the way the Army is managed, parliament's supervisory activity, and the probable effects of a multi-party system on army life. The minister pointed out that the planned redeployment of the U.S. F-16 fighter plane regiment from Spain to Italy is of concern to Hungary as well.

The cordial conversation was attended by Colonel Mrs Ruth M Anderson, defence and air attache at the U.S. Embassy.

In the evening, State Minister Imre Pozsgay met the delegation in the parliament building and briefed them about the political connections of the Hungarian reform process.

Sit-In Protest Continues Outside CSSR Embassy

LD2508112989 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 0800 GMT 25 Aug 89

[Text] The people taking part in the sit-in in front of the Czechoslovak Embassy in Budapest are ready to call off their action today if the two Hungarians held in Prague are released from prison. With their statement handed in to the embassy this morning, the human rights activists would like to reach that decision regarding their associates by taking humanitarian views into consideration. In the statement, they also emphasize that they welcome the news that most of the Hungarians arrested in Wenceslas Square have already been released in Prague. The participants in the sit-in in front of the embassy invite those who wish to sign the open letter published in MAGYAR NEMZET regarding the police violence in Wenceslas Square.

In Prague, the public prosecutor is to decide before 1500 today, the case of the two Hungarians still in custody. The police would like to bring charges against Tamas Deutsch and Gyorgy Kerenyi. If the prosecutor agrees with this, there is still hope that they will be allowed out of the country.

The Hungarian Consul in Prague has already booked two seats on every MALEV [Hungarian airline] flight today.

Incidentally, it is certain that proceedings will be started against the 20 Czechoslovak citizens also in custody.

Minister Horn Comments on New Polish Government

LD2408173889 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 1630 GMT 24 Aug 89

[Text] What is the opinion of the Hungarian Government on the developments in Poland on the new premier? This is what our colleague asked Foreign Minister Gyula Horn:

[Horn] As to who in the end is chosen as premier, or what kind of government composition the Poles will have, this is their internal affair. Nobody has the right to intervene in this.

I consider very important the statement by Walesa in connection with this—that they do not cast doubt on Poland's membership in the Warsaw Pact, its remaining in the Warsaw Pact. This is very important, for Poland is a significantly more important country in the European situation or status quo, than for example Hungary. So the situation in Poland, Poland's allegiance, has a great influence on relations remaining stable in Europe.

At the same time, I would also consider it important that the representatives of the Polish United Workers Party be definitely given a suitable place in that government, the new government.

With regard to the new premier, he is known as a tolerant man who takes note of the most varied opinions, weighs

them in a sober and balanced fashion, and will certainly take into full account those power relations that exist in Poland today.

Nemeth Congratulates Polish Premier Mazowiecki

*LD2408180589 Budapest MTI in English
1648 GMT 24 Aug 89*

[Text] Budapest, August 24 (MTI)—Miklos Nemeth, chairman of the Council of Ministers, cabled his good wishes to Tadeusz Mazowiecki on his election as chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Polish People's Republic.

More on Opposition Roundtable, Trilateral Talks

Disagreements in Talks

*LD2408162889 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 1000 GMT 24 Aug 89*

[Report by correspondent Peter Szerenyi]

[Text] For the first time in the history of the Opposition Roundtable [EKA], the Hungarian People's Party used its veto at the latest talks of the organization. According to them, the president of the Republic should only be installed in office before the elections.

According to the compromise package worked out by the Democratic Forum, citizens will vote for the president of the Republic at the time of the elections. This, incidentally, is also disputed by several people within the EKA. According to them, the first man of Hungary should only be elected after the free elections, either by the National Assembly or by the people.

The package to be submitted to the middle-level talks this afternoon also mentions whether the concept of democratic socialism should be inserted in the constitution. The constitution is to list those intellectual trends that have a place in Hungarian society. Such trends would also include, for example, bourgeois radicalism or humanism.

Differentiation on the basis of ideology should not be carried out in the constitution. Therefore, there is no need for such a list. This is also stressed by several people within the opposition. According to them—and here we are talking about lawyers, primarily—it is not clear what can be done about a person, who, for example, attacks democratic socialism. Should he be convicted for acting against the constitution?

According to the compromise proposal, the constitutional court should be established only after the elections because before the elections, the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] might put its own people there, in the view of the Opposition Roundtable; and there is no possibility of replacing the members at a later date, since they would be appointed for 12 years.

There is no agreement either among the participants at the roundtable as to whether MSZMP property should be divided among the parties or become state property. According to the latest ideas, everybody should be able to rent buildings at current market prices in former MSZMP properties which are already considered to be state property. For example, the MSZMP should pay rent to the treasury for its headquarters in Mari Jaszay Square.

The Opposition Roundtable is to have a last session at midday today for coordination before the trilateral, middle-level talks this afternoon. According to our information, they will probably reach agreement.

Trilateral Talks Commence

*LD2408174689 Budapest MTI in English
1604 GMT 24 Aug 89*

[Text] Budapest, August 24 (MTI)—The trilateral medium-level political coordination talks commenced in the parliament building, Budapest, on Thursday afternoon.

The delegation of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party is headed by Imre Pozsgay, of the opposition roundtable by Imre Boross and of the third side by Mrs Kosa Magda Kovacs. Opening the conference, Istvan Kukorelli (third side), announced that as the first point of the agenda will be discussed in public, journalists can also hear the report of the particular subcommittees.

During the discussion of the second theme, already behind closed doors, the amendments to certain paragraphs of the penal code will be surveyed. There will also be talk about the abandonment of violent means, the election law and the regulation of the operation of political parties.

The discussions will probably continue on Friday and close with a joint press conference in the afternoon.

Reports Presented at Talks

*LD2408215189 Budapest MTI in English
2032 GMT 24 Aug 89*

[Text] Budapest, August 24 (MTI)—Part of Thursday's trilateral political talks, the medium-level working group in charge of political agreement held a session in the parliament building. The delegation of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party [HSWP] was headed by Imre Pozsgay, of the opposition roundtable by Imre Boross and of the third side by Mrs Kosa Magda Kovacs. The various sub-committees were the first to report, in the presence of journalists, on points of agreement and conflict in the themes discussed. A joint communique is to be issued on the further part of the conference, and a joint news conference given on Friday.

Outlining the work of the committee dealing with the amendment of the constitution, Gyorgy Drucker (third side) said there was agreement as to the necessity of

considerably amending the constitution and annulling the preamble. There is also an identity of views on the eradication of items concerning state socialism, the abolition of the institution of the Presidential Council and the subordination of the government to parliament.

In connection with the activity of the committee concerned with the regulation of political party operation, Balazs Horvath (Opposition Roundtable) said there is a debate as to the extent the parties can accept foreign support. No consensus has been reached with regard to the HSWP's assets. Gyorgy Fejti (HSWP) pointed out the HSWP sees no problem in attaching party registration to a declaration of property, and is also willing to accept this condition. However, he stated that the national triangle has no competence to survey the HSWP's property. Reporting on the activity of the working group in charge of the Election Law, Andras Toth (HSWP) said that agreement had been reached that a mixed-system election should be held in two rounds.

On the work of the committee in charge of modifying the penal code and the laws related to criminal proceedings, Katalin Kutrucz and Peter Hhac (opposition roundtable) stated that an agreement was reached as to the judgement of crimes against the state, but the use of military criminal procedures is still under debate.

On behalf of the committee responsible for the mass media and information, Jozsef Csikos (HSWP) pointed out that all the three sides consider it important to declare in the constitution that the right of expression and the freedom of the press are basic human rights. There was also agreement that an unbiased information committee has to be set up to control radio, television and the Hungarian news agency.

Zoltan Muranyi (third side), representative of the committee dealing with the creation of legal guarantees against the violent solutions, stressed they agree to setting up the institution of the advocate of civil rights (ombudsman), but there are disputes as to the future of the workers' militia.

Then the further points on the agenda were discussed behind closed doors. MTI has been informed that the opposition roundtable is going to propose that journalists should be allowed to attend the sub-committee meetings as well. The discussion still continued late in the evening.

Further Reportage on GDR Refugee Situation

More Citizens Expected

AU2408131889 Munich SUEDEDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG in German 24 Aug 89 p 1

["cvm" report: "200,000 GDR Citizens Still Vacationing in Hungary"]

[Text] Budapest—According to representatives of the Hungarian Democratic Forum, the country's largest

noncommunist party, the large number of GDR citizens who are currently vacationing in Hungary and who might not be willing to return to their home country may turn into an "enormous problem." Geza Jeszenszky and Daniel Lanyi from the foreign policy working group told SUEDEDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG that, according to estimates, about 2-300,000 GDR citizens are currently vacationing in Hungary, 50 percent of whom are probably not willing to return to the GDR. The Hungarian Government would be happy if it could allow all those willing to travel to the West to do so. However, Hungary still has to observe an agreement, they stressed. The headquarters of the Hungarian Democratic Forum plans to set up an "office for the defense of the interests of GDR citizens in Hungary" in Budapest in the next few days.

Horn Discusses Issue

LD2408201389 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1630 GMT 24 Aug 89

[Text] [Announcer] For once it is entirely appropriate that our report on the news conference following the session of the government should be given in the middle of the foreign reports. Laszlo Gardai reports.

[Gardai] First of all, contrary to the custom, Foreign Minister Gyula Horn briefed the journalists on topical foreign political questions. He first spoke about the GDR refugees.

[Begin Horn recording] At present there are approximately 150-200,000 GDR tourists in Hungary. One cannot give accurate numbers, after all, they are not registered. As far as we know, the number of those who do not wish to return to their country is increasing. It is also known from today's communique that today, or rather last night, those who earlier escaped to the FRG Embassy, departed. It is not in our interest that the number of GDR citizens who wish to stay here increase.

What is it that cannot be solved? I would like to stress this because a certain misunderstanding exists in this respect. In the case of GDR citizens, the UN Convention on Refugees cannot be applied because it states that a foreign citizen who asks for asylum from the government or country where he or she has arrived has his or her request examined by the authorities of that country. They are obliged to do this. In this case, the Hungarian authorities would also have to examine whether the citizen in question is subject to persecution in his or her own state on the basis of race, religion, nationality or because of his or her political convictions. To the best of our knowledge, not a single GDR citizen has turned to the Hungarian authorities to ask for refugee status. I would like to emphasize this. We would like to see an early and humane solution to these problems, but this fundamentally depends on the FRG and GDR Governments. They must reach an agreement. [end recording]

[Gardai] In reply to a question, the foreign minister said that the border guards must not resort to force; they must

not use their weapons. They must show the maximum flexibility in the given situation. As is well known, two Hungarian citizens are still detained by the Czechoslovak authorities. The Hungarian Government is in touch with the Czechoslovak authorities to obtain their release. According to the foreign minister, the correct point of departure is that it is not a good thing for anyone to try to interfere in the internal affairs of other countries, because in a similar situation this would create ill will in our country as well.

[Begin Horn recording] It is general international law that if someone goes abroad, he is obliged to respect the laws and regulations of the country in question. Whether you like it or not, in Czechoslovakia the law relating to assembly and the expression of one's opinions differs significantly from the Hungarian practice and regulations. This difference is no good reason for Hungarian citizens traveling there to ignore the country's laws and regulations. The Czechoslovak authorities drew the attention of their own citizens, and through Hungarian media the attention of Hungarian citizens as well, prior to 21 August, that they would not permit demonstrations in connection with 21 August. The several hundred young people who went there were aware of this and could expect the consequences of their action. We are continuously in touch with the Czechoslovak authorities to settle the case of the two young people who are still detained. [end recording]

[Gardai] In connection with a question, the foreign minister spoke also about the Hungarian-Romanian dual citizenship agreement, which is still in force.

[Begin Horn recording] Concerning the agreement on dual citizenship, its validity will expire in February of 1990. The agreement states that the sides have to state during the 6 months prior to the expiry of the agreement whether they wish to continue it or want to terminate it. Thus, the 6-month period has just begun and there will be scope until February to make a statement on this matter. We are dealing with the question and we will make the appropriate decision. However, there is no decision as yet.

Concerning the Romanian refugees, we do not want to solve the question of Romanian refugees through the International Red Cross, because this is not the purpose of the International Red Cross. We want to solve the refugee question fundamentally within the framework of the Geneva Convention on Refugees. In September, or at the latest October, the Budapest office of the High Commission for Refugees will be opened. The number one task of the office will be to deal with the refugees from Romania and to ensure the possibility of traveling on for those who desire this, while at the same time also providing them with financial and other assistance. [end recording]

Nyers, FRG's Ruehe Talk

*LD2408191489 Budapest MTI in English
1638 GMT 24 Aug 89*

[Text] Budapest, August 24 (MTI)—The FRG Embassy in Budapest continues to be closed to prevent GDR citizens from entering the building. Volker Ruehe, CDU's appointed general secretary, told journalists in Budapest at Thursday noon, a few hours after 101 GDR citizens left the embassy building for the FRG with travel documents from the International Red Cross.

Herr Ruehe highly appreciated Hungary's helpfulness and referred to further efforts made behind the scenes to solve the problem of GDR citizens who want to go on without travel documents, but gave no concrete details.

At noon Herr Ruehe called at the Zugliget (Budapest) centre of the Maltese charity service, where hundreds of GDR citizens are being provided for in these days.

During the day Herr Ruehe held talks with Rezso Nyers, president of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, about domestic political conditions in Hungary and East-West relations.

Horn Answers Questions

*LD2408222289 Budapest MTI in English
1758 GMT 24 Aug 89*

[Excerpts] Budapest, August 24 (MTI)—During its Thursday session, the Hungarian government paid particular attention to the affair of GDR citizens defecting via Hungary and the Hungarian citizens who were arrested at Wenceslas Square in Prague on August 21. [passage omitted]

Replying to a question, Mr Horn gave voice to his surprise on account of a few remarks made by American Senator Alan Cranston concerning Hungarian domestic affairs. He said these remarks contradict the statements President Bush made when he was in Hungary, since the President placed confidence in the current administration. Approving the work of this government, he proposed the seven in Paris (who accepted the proposal) to discuss ways how to support the present processes in Hungary and Poland as soon as possible.

The foreign minister stressed that the rescheduling of Hungarian debts was not even mentioned during the talks with Alan Cranston and the other senators, as the Hungarian Government is trying to overcome its economic problems by entirely different means.

He said that as the 10-year cooperation between Hungary and the International Monetary Fund has so far been devoid of political reservations, the IMF is not likely to take this course towards Hungary now.

Answering another question, Mr Horn termed the publication of the secret clause to the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact as highly important, while emphasizing: It would

not be a proper compensation for the crimes of the past if certain Soviet republics were torn out of the union.

The foreign minister mentioned that Hungary was the first Warsaw Treaty member to apply for participation in the Belgrade conference of the non-aligned countries. The application was accepted. Mr Horn said that Hungary's attendance could demonstrate that affiliation to an international military organization does not imply political isolation and limited action capacity.

Given the current conditions in Poland, Mr Horn attached particular importance to Lech Walesa's statement that for the time being Poland has no wish to alter its membership and role within the Warsaw Treaty.

Acting spokesman Zsolt Bajnok, editor-in-chief of the government daily "MAGYAR HIRLAP", informed journalists about the rest of the themes which came up during the session. He said that the government discussed the development plan for the northeastern region of the country (Borsod, Nograd and Szabolcs-Szatmar counties), with special regard to the expected emergence of graver than average employment problems in connection with industrial restructuring.

The session also heard a Finance Ministry report about progress in implementing the May package designed to improve the budget equilibrium. The aim of the programme was to increase the budget by 47,000 million forints through cutting expenditures and increasing revenues. So far, the balance has improved by 41,000 million forints, and experts also see a chance for the 47,000-million target to be met by the end of the year.

As far as the conflict between the government and the Central Council of Trade Unions (SZOT) is concerned (in his August 20 speech the prime minister accused the trade unions of attempting to preserve the stalinist structure and hamper the reform), the government completely shares the prime minister's opinion. Mr Bajnok stated in the parliament building on Thursday evening.

Grosz Interview Broadcast on Finnish Television

AU2408104689 Budapest MTI in English
1654 GMT 22 Aug 89

[Text] Budapest, 22 Aug (MTI)—Finnish state television is to broadcast an interview with Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, during a 50-minute programme on Hungary in September.

Chilean Opposition Welcomes Restoration of Ties

LD2408101289 Budapest MTI in English
0653 GMT 24 Aug 89

[Text] Buenos Aires, August 24 (MTI)—The civilian opposition in Chile welcomes the restoration of consular relations between Budapest and Santiago and expects the Democratic Cabinet replacing the Pinochet Government to restore full diplomatic relations with Hungary, the

Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. MTI's South American correspondent was told by a leading Chilean civilian opposition source on Wednesday [23 August].

Chilean circles watch the processes going on in reform-advocate socialist countries with fellow feelings. They intend to study the Hungarian political experience with regard to a peaceful transition into a democratic multi-party system. They intend to make use of Hungary's experience in political, social and economic life when drafting the programme of the new democratic government, says the source, who also took part in the working out of the government's programme and is also familiar with Hungarian realities.

As he said the opposition considers it more than possible that it will collect over 60 percent of the votes at the December 14 elections. The civilian opposition appreciates the decision passed by the Communist Party of Chile to give priority to the restoration of democratic freedom rights over its endeavours to bring about socialism.

UK Firm Buys Majority Share in Ganz Enterprise

AU2408104889 Budapest MTI in English
1140 GMT 21 Aug 89

[Text] Budapest, 21 Aug (MTI)—At a cost of 12 million pounds sterling, Telfos Holdings PLC of Britain has bought a 51 percent majority share of Ganz Railway Vehicle Ltd., Hungary's major railway vehicle manufacturer company. The agreement was signed on Monday in Budapest by managers of the two companies in the presence of Minister of Trade Tamas Beck.

The first priority of the new joint venture, to be registered under the name of Ganz-Hunslet Railway Vehicles Ltd., will be to completely reorganize the operation and finances of the Budapest factory which has recently made huge losses. It will continue to produce the traditional Ganz railway vehicles and motor trains, as well as new types of tram.

Telfos has contributed 2 million pounds to the starting equity and will supply manufacturing equipment worth 10 million.

The new management does not wish to disclose plans for staff restructuring until they have discussed the matter with the workers concerned. The manager of the railway vehicle factory also declined to answer questions concerning the exact size of the loss they were passing on to the new joint venture, and how they intended to pay the debtors.

An official of Budapest Bank, one of the shareholders of Ganz Railway Vehicle LTD., said that for some time the factory had been practically breaking even thanks to a major order worth 400 million forints for four diesel engines from Hungarian State Railways, which has temporarily solved the company's liquidity problems.

The Hungarian-British venture is looking forward to some important new markets. A 6 million pound deal for the supply of engines to be used in the channel tunnel is already being negotiated, and Soviet Railways, one of Ganz's major customers, have said they want to go ahead with an arrangement to jointly build locomotives and other railway vehicles.

The joint venture has already signed an agreement with the Soviets on the sale of spare parts. This particular sale will be in roubles but further deals will be settled in hard currency. The joint venture also expects to continue supplying Hungarian State Railways, with possible orders for 28 new diesel engines over the next few years.

Social Democratic Youth Movement Conference Held

AU2408171389 Budapest *MAGYAR HIRLAP*
in Hungarian 22 Aug 89 p 3

["B.A"-signed report: "The Social Democratic Youth Movement Holds National Conference—Market Economy and Social Security"]

[Excerpts] The national conference of the Social Democratic Youth Movement begins in Debrecen today. At the conference, the young Social Democrats will finalize the principles of their movement, work out their provisional theses for action, adopt the provisional organizational and operational regulations, and elect the provisional executive body.

The conference invited the representatives of social democratic organizations and platforms to an open day to be held on 24 August. The national conference—which is an important stage in the preparation of the national congress planned for the autumn of this year—will strive to work out joint ways of thinking and acting for the autonomous and self-managing organizations in Budapest and the provinces, organizations that, so far, have been acting separately.

Jozsef Vollein, head of the Debrecen organization, summed up the basic principles of their movement as follows: Christian ethics, universal humanism, the history of mankind, and the search for justice for the oppressed classes. They reject Leninism, the omnipotence of state property, proletarian internationalism, and efforts to seize power by force. [passage omitted]

Bela Farkas, member of the Budapest leadership of the movement and member of the National Committee of the Hungarian Social Democratic Party, added that their goal was to build a market economy in Hungarian

society and work out a future network of social welfare for those strata of society that are in a disadvantageous position within market competition through no fault of their own. An even greater task is to assert human dignity and personal freedom and coordinate them with the requirements of economic efficiency. [passage omitted]

1st National Meeting Ends

LD2408203989 Budapest *MTI in English*
1346 GMT 24 Aug 89

[Text] Budapest, August 24 (MTI)—The delegates to the first national meeting of the Social Democratic Youth Movement (SZIM) ended their three-day meeting in Debrecen on Thursday.

It is pointed out in the final document of the rally that the youth movement holds it important for the Social Democratic Party of Hungary (MSZDP) to adopt a unified stand during the forthcoming national elections. Szim does not wish to take a position in the platform debates within the party, or back or distance itself from these platforms. During the rally, participants expressed dissatisfaction that the platform debates within the MSZDP are given publicity.

Hajdu-Bihar County Committee Changes Leadership

LD2308211289 Budapest *MTI in English*
1835 GMT 23 Aug 89

[Text] Budapest, August 23 (MTI)—During the extraordinary session of the Hajdu-Bihar County Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party held in Debrecen on Wednesday, Sandor Postas resigned his post as the committee's first secretary.

The executive committee was relieved and replaced by a new, 10-strong, executive committee headed by Ida Bardi, secretary of the county party committee.

Ms Bardi told an MTI correspondent that the executive committee's authority would not be confined to preparing decisions, but would extend to assisting the work of congressional delegates. The new body also comprises a representative of the HSWP's Debrecen reform circles and the party's local workers' section.

She went on to say that, although the county party committee had not yet been dissolved, its sole task until the next, county-level HSWP conference in October would be to give account of its activity during the past year.

Further on Mazowiecki's Election as Premier

Sejm Votes for Mazowiecki

LD2408163889 Warsaw Television Service in Polish
1105 GMT 24 Aug 89

[From the proceedings of the Polish Sejm session in Warsaw—live]

[Excerpts] [Speaker Kozakiewicz] I propose that the Sejm resolve as follows:

The Sejm of the Polish People's Republic, on the basis of Article 37, Paragraph 1, of the Constitution of the Polish People's Republic, on a motion from the president, tabled in pursuance of Article 32f, Paragraph 1, Item 6, of the Constitution, appoints citizen Tadeusz Mazowiecki to the office of the chairman of the Council of Ministers and charges him with the task of presenting a proposal concerning the composition of the Council of Ministers. [passage omitted]

I shall now announce the result of the vote. Taking part in the vote were 423 deputies. Absolute majority is 212 deputies. In favor of the election there were 378 deputies, 4 were against the election, 41 deputies abstained. [applause]

I declare that the Sejm has appointed citizen Tadeusz Mazowiecki to the office of the chairman of the Council of Ministers and has charged him with the task of presenting a proposal concerning the composition of the Council of Ministers.

Would the premier like to take the floor?

[Mazowiecki] Mr Speaker, may it please the House. I would not wish to make any more political declarations. I am moved by this moment. I would like to thank the House for the great confidence shown in me. I am aware of the burden of responsibility and the enormity of the tasks which I face both in forming the government and, first and foremost, in its actions. I am counting on cooperation with the Sejm and the Senate and I shall always strive for this good cooperation. I am counting above all on the awareness of my fellow countrymen, not because of my person but because of Poland's needs, because of the historic moment—this moment will become a significant moment so that through joint efforts we raise Poland high. [applause]

[Kozakiewicz] Thank you, premier.

More on Sejm Decision

LD2408192889 Warsaw PAP in English
1640 GMT 24 Aug 89

[Excerpts] Warsaw, Aug. 24—The day of August 24th, 1989 will forever go down in history as the start of a qualitatively new procedure of appointing authorities and manner of government, unprecedented in our geopolitical region, said Sejm Speaker Mikolaj Kozakiewicz, opening Thursday's Sejm debate today.

The Sejm appointed to the office of prime minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki, a many-year Catholic activist, one of the leading Solidarity activists and an active participant in the round table talks. Earlier, the Sejm accepted the resignation of Czeslaw Kiszczak who—as it was emphasized—seeing a better alternative for Poland gave up the formation of a government to open the way for a totally new solution.

The new premier, supported by representatives of all the floor groups, told the house that the government would not heal anything while working alone. "We must do it together. Poland will be different if everybody wants it," said he.

The Sejm adopted today a statement on the 50th anniversary of the outbreak of the Second World War. The last item on the agenda were answers by government representatives to deputies' questions.

Opening the debate, Sejm Speaker Mikolaj Kozakiewicz underlined important importance of Thursday's meeting.

"The two items on the agenda concerning the recall of the hitherto premier and the appointment of the new one are two more steps towards development of democracy in Poland, steps whose tremendous echo will resound all over the world in just one hour's time. Moreover, this is one of these rare moments when while making personnel decisions we—all of us sitting today in this room—feel the enthralling wind of history as the day of August 24th, 1989 goes down in history forever," said he.

Kozakiewicz informed the house about a letter by Poland's president asking the Sejm to accept Czeslaw Kiszczak's resignation from the post of premier and the mission of forming the government. The House accepted the resignation, recalling Kiszczak from the post. [Warsaw Television Service at 1006 GMT on 24 August adds the following:

"I would like to inform the House that I have received the following letter from the President of the Polish People's Republic:

Citizen Mikolaj Kozakiewicz,

Speaker of the Sejm of the Polish People's Republic,

In connection with citizen Czeslaw Kiszczak's resignation from the office of the chairman of the Council of Ministers and from the task of forming a government, received by me, I ask the Sejm of the Polish People's Republic to accept this resignation.

Signed: Wojciech Jaruzelski."

The speaker acknowledged Kiszczak's great efforts he had made in the course of extremely difficult negotiations to form a government. "I think that one should express regard for the courage Kiszczak displayed twice—first when he undertook this extremely difficult mission and then when he gave it up it seeing a better

alternative for Poland, to pave the way for a totally new solution," Kozakiewicz said, his speech triggering of a long, standing ovation.

Next, Kozakiewicz presented to the House another presidential letter which moved for appointing Tadeusz Mazowiecki as premier. Mazowiecki is a many-year Catholic activist, was a Sejm deputy in the years 1961-72, later worked in Solidarity and is one of the leading activists of this organization. He was also an active participant in the round table talks. At present editor-in-chief of the weekly TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC.

Kozakiewicz asked Mazowiecki to take floor.

Next, chairmen of all floor groups made statements. [passage omitted]

Aleksander Bentkowski (UPP) [United Peasant Party]

We, peasant activists, formed a new coalition of heart and commonsense, and the unanimity of voting proves how strong is our conviction that this is the only and perhaps the last solution in which the nation can believe.

Today, forty-two years since the bestial breaking-up of the Polish Peasant Party, peasant activists again want and can really be joint masters of Poland.

Just now, we have an opportunity to give proof of our independence and credibility and to convince everybody that we peasant activists of this century are worthy of being heirs to the thought and programme of the Polish Peasant Party and worthy of pursuing the ideals of such great leaders as Wincenty Witos, Maciej Rataj and Stanislaw Mikolajczyk.

We support Mr. Tadeusz Mazowiecki as a candidate for premier of the Polish People's Republic. We know that he is the most competent to face up to this hard task. We also know that the condition of Poland is such that all of us must save it.

Jan Janowski (DP) [Democratic Party]

In view of the protracted crisis, a change in the coalition alignment, in which the DP takes part, shows that Poland is effectively turning into a parliamentary democracy.

The DP assumes joint responsibility for the fact that the new government will become a guarantor of international decisions and all earlier obligations; that it will safeguard a sovereign Poland, independent in its existence.

But the most important task for today is to unite all reformatory forces with a view to saving this country.

In a deep conviction that the new prime minister will head a government which will enjoy full confidence of society, the DP Sejm floor group gives its full support to Mr. Tadeusz Mazowiecki in the work of forming his government.

Jozef Wojcik (PAX)

The PAX parliamentary floor group declared its support—according to its possibilities—for the government headed by Tadeusz Mazowiecki and appreciated the importance of the moment.

Tadeusz Nowacki (Christian-Social Union)

The fact of appointing a non-party member, an activist of the Solidarity opposition closely linked with the church to be prime minister was an unprecedented event in Poland's postwar history.

The parliamentary floor group of the Christian-Social Union gives its full support for the candidature of Tadeusz Mazowiecki for the post of prime minister.

Stefania Czupala-Hologa (Polish Union of Lay Catholics)

Only a government of national responsibility, comprising representatives of all individual and group forces operating in the political life in parliament and outside it, can extricate Poland out of the present difficult and humiliating situation.

The Polish Union of Lay Catholics expresses its respect for the prime minister designate and declares its intention to vote for Tadeusz Mazowiecki.

All in all, 423 deputies took part in the voting. The absolute majority was 212 votes. 378 deputies voted for appointing Tadeusz Mazowiecki prime minister, 4 deputies were against and 41 abstained. The results of the voting were welcomed with applause.

At 13:12 Sejm Speaker Kozakiewicz stated that the Sejm appointed Tadeusz Mazowiecki chairman of the Council of Ministers and entrusted him with forming a government.

I would not like to make any political statements now, Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki said after the vote. I am moved by this moment. I thank the high chamber for displaying their confidence in me. I am aware of the historic responsibility and countless tasks facing me, both as regards the formation of a government and its activity.

I count on cooperation with the Sejm and Senate, the premier said, and I will try for my part to strive for this good cooperation. What Poland needs is an uplift, to be given by our concerted efforts.

Next, the Sejm adopted a statement in connection with the 50th anniversary of the outbreak of the 2nd World War. 282 deputies voted for the statement, 6 were against and 21 abstained.

As a point of order Deputy Jozef Bogusz (PUWP) [Polish United Workers Party] chamber that the Sejm speaker received Wednesday a motion by 15 PUWP deputies to cancel the constitutional provision speaking of the leading role of the PUWP.

In the last item of today's debates, the Sejm listened to answers by government representatives to deputies questions. They concerned the economic situation of units trading in food and agricultural equipment, monopolistic practices by middlemen in trade, and interest rates on saving deposits.

The deputies discussed also questions linked to the exports of fruit and vegetables and to the remuneration of persons employed in education.

Deputy Jan Janowski of the Democratic Party (DP) asked who was responsible and whether consequences were invoked against that person for distorting the contents of a communique on the meeting of the secretariat of the DP CC [Central Committee] in the main edition of the TV news bulletin on August 5. These charges are partially substantiated, said chairman of the Committee for Radio and TV Jerzy Urban, answering the question. The communique was broadcast in great abbreviation. Jerzy Urban said that on that day he personally supervised the editing of the TV bulletin and in this connection he felt responsible for shortening the contents of the communique, for which he apologized and which he regretted. However, he did not agree with the charge that the contents of the communique was manipulated. This could seem so only because the communique had been broadcast in a series of news items and not as a separate report. After an intervention by DP representatives, the full communique was broadcast in the next edition of the main TV news bulletin.

Deputy Aleksander Bentkowski of the United Peasant Party asked about the course of the process of conveying military facilities for social needs.

Vice-Minister of National Defence Gen. Antoni Jasinski stressed that this was a small part of an extensive programme of restructuring the armed forces, as a result of which military facilities and sites are converted for civilian purposes. Such facilities were conveyed in Braniewo, Lublin, Rzeszow, Olesnica and Legionowo. This is a continuous process that requires proper analyses taking both the needs of the army and population into account.

The two-day Sejm meeting ended at 5.00 p.m.

Mazowiecki Sejm Speech

LD2408132389 Warsaw Television Service in Polish
1011 GMT 24 Aug 89

[Speech by Premier-designate Tadeusz Mazowiecki at the Sejm session in Warsaw—live]

[Text] Mr Speaker, may it please the House. I want to create a government capable of action for the benefit of society, the nation, and the state. It will be a coalition government for a fundamental reform of the state.

Today such a task can be undertaken only by a government open to cooperation with all forces represented in parliament and formed in accordance with new political principles.

Our country's history has accelerated. This has happened at the insistence of society which no longer agrees to go on living as before. We have to restore to Poland the mechanisms of normal political life. On the contrary, it will be a road to normality. The principle of struggle, which sooner or later leads to an elimination of the opponent, must be replaced by the principle of partnership, otherwise we will not transfer from a totalitarian to a democratic system. The former philosophy of the state has to change. It cannot deal with and guarantee everything. It should facilitate and regulate activity. The most important role for the government and administration right now is to open up opportunities for collective and individual action.

I would like to be the premier of a government of all Poles, regardless of their views and convictions, which cannot be a criterion for the division of citizens into categories. I will take pains that the principles of the government's composition will be clear for everyone. That is my particular duty to Solidarity. Understanding on the part of the church, which has always defended human rights and felt the concerns of the nation as its own, will help. The church was and is a stabilizing force in Poland.

The future government must tell society the truth, and it must also create mechanisms for public opinion to be heard. Certain problems will be given to it to judge. If sacrifices are going to be needed everyone must know and understand their meaning and have the opportunity to adopt a stance on the problems which have arisen.

Esteemed house, the most important matter for society is the state of the national economy which today must be regarded as critical. Everything has already been said about how bad it is and why. The problem is how to get out of that. I am fully aware of the great work that will be required of the newly created government and of everyone to restore the economy. The long-term and strategic aim of the government's actions will be to reinstate in Poland the economic institutions that have long been known and proven. By that I understand a return to a market economy as well as the role of a state approaching that of economically developed countries.

Poland can no longer afford ideological experiments. All the kinds of changes on which the nation's prospects and the well-being of its citizens depend are blocked today by inflation and also the lack of economic equilibrium, which are manifested by bad supplies and lines, the state budget deficit, and the unbalanced balance of payments. The reinstatement of equilibrium and the throttling of inflation is a task of the highest economic, political and social importance. The imbalance and inflation augmenting social tension could undermine the Polish march to freedom.

With high inflation the creation of conditions for productive work by the people, on which their material well-being will mainly depend, is out of the question. The government, being aware of the absolute and urgent need to pit itself against inflation, will prepare a set of necessary undertakings, utilizing that which until now has been tried in Poland and in other countries, as well as referring to the experiences of international experts and financial organizations. In particular we will begin without delay to demonopolize the structures that service the food market and whose overgrowth is one of the causes of high prices and the slowing down of rural development. The struggle against inflation and the restoration of economic balance have always and everywhere been risky undertakings for governments and painful for societies. Bearing in mind the economic effectiveness of the anti-inflationary operation, the government will do everything possible to make it as painless as possible. We cannot, however, promise that it will be completely imperceptible. No one can responsibly make such a promise.

Polish economic problems have to be solved by the Poles themselves. Success will be decided by our own ingenuity, work, and endurance, our own effort. This, however, does not mean that in this hard undertaking we have to be committed to being alone. The world is watching sympathetically and hopefully the changes taking place in our country. The government is going to strive vigorously to attain for Poland the greatest possible economic support from the international community in every possible form in accordance with the existing procedures and customs. We will not seek privileges that others in a situation similar to ours do not receive. But we will expect the maximum possible support for our own work to restore the economy.

Governments by themselves do not create economic prosperity for the people and do not pull them out of economic crises. But more than one government by suppressing the citizens' initiative and by trying to conduct all and sundry has successfully knocked out the country economically. There have been, however, and still are governments which knew how to release the economic energy that lies dormant within talented and industrious people. My greatest wish is for the present coalition government to open up for the Poles opportunities to raise the country economically. We need such mechanisms, legal and economic, as would give enterprising people a sense of security for their activity and allow everyone to rediscover the moral and material sense of work.

May it please the House. The problem of law and law observance is of fundamental importance. For 45 years the law in Poland has been treated as an instrument and has been subordinated to political objectives of the time, while the citizens had no sense of freedom or awareness of being protected by the law which is the same for everyone. It is necessary to introduce a government of law, to accord every citizen rights compatible with international treaties, agreements, and conventions. The

citizens have to have a sense of freedom, security, and participation. They can have such a sense only in a law-abiding state, in which every action of the authorities is based on the law, while the manner of formulating, the content, and the interpretation of its regulations correspond to the social sense of justice. Only the law which has the common interest as its objective can enjoy public respect and authority. We are not going to create a new army or militia. It is only a question of creating such legal guarantees as would give everyone, also within those institutions, a sense that they serve the public.

A proficient administration can work effectively when its appointment is decided based on criteria of competence and it is obliged only to be loyal to the state, without being hitherto constrained by loyalty to particular parties. In relations between the government and the citizens a unique role in present-day conditions is played by the mass media, especially radio and television. Today their nature has to be pluralistic. I regard a transfer from a monopoly to pluralism in this field to be indispensable.

May it please the house. I am convinced that Poland could play an important role in the political, economic and cultural life of Europe. The country's enormously difficult economic situation also does not inspire optimism in the sphere of international relations. The civilization gap between Poland and the societies of highly developed countries is growing. This increases the Poles' weariness, an expression of which is emigration, especially by young people. Poland's friends must understand that they cannot wait until we start sinking. Economic reconstruction is going to serve not just our country but also the entire European community. Europe is a single entity. It includes not just the West but also the East.

The changes in the Soviet Union arouse a lively sympathetic feeling in us. We understand full well their significance, also for the political opening up in our country. We wish to retain good-neighborly and friendly relations with the Soviet Union. For the first time an opportunity is appearing for relations between our peoples based on friendship and cooperation of societies, without being reserved for one party. This is a great opportunity which must not be wasted.

We understand the significance of obligations arising from the Warsaw Pact. I declare to all its participants that the government which I form is going to respect the pact. [applause]

May it please the house, the change in the political situation in Poland is defined by the fact that the new government is being formed on the initiative of Solidarity in agreement with the United Peasant Party and the Democratic Party. This fact is viewed as an unusual event. In our political life the possibility of forming a government by any force represented in parliament must become something completely normal.

The government which I am going to form will bear no responsibility for the mortgage it inherits. However, it does have influence on the circumstances in which we are to act. We will cross out the past with a thick line. We will be responsible only for what we do in order to extricate Poland from the present state of collapse. I realize that for my compatriots today the most important question is: Can it be better? We will all provide the answer. The success of the future government depends on its being accepted and understood by the community. All social and political forces represented in parliament, and also acting outside it, must define their place in the light of the new situation. It constitutes a challenge to all, particularly to the young generation which must see their great chance in resolving the task facing us.

The government on its own will improve nothing. We must do it together. Poland will be different if everyone wants it to be. [prolonged applause]

Walesa Comments on Mazowiecki Appointment

AU2408133089 Paris AFP in English
1328 GMT 24 Aug 89

[Text] Warsaw, Aug 24 (AFP)—Solidarity leader Lech Walesa said reforms were "just beginning" Thursday after Poland's parliament ratified the appointment of his close advisor, Tadeusz Mazowiecki, as prime minister.

"The process of reforms in Poland is just beginning," Mr. Walesa said in a statement issued in his northern port town base of Gdansk, where he described the election of a noncommunist premier by the lower house of parliament as an "unprecedented event."

Mr. Walesa added that he hoped Mr. Mazowiecki could form a government "of all the Poles and that he will prove capable of leading Poland away from a totalitarian system towards democracy."

The 62-year-old Roman Catholic journalist was named premier-designate by Poland's communist leader, President Wojciech Jaruzelski on Saturday. Parliament endorsed his appointment by 378 votes, with just four against and 41 abstentions.

The Communists have 173 seats in the lower house.

"The scale of the crisis is such that we have to speed up the process of reforms and take original measures," Mr. Walesa added in his statement.

"After 45 years of unshared rule by the communists, the hopes of society are turned on a man who was one of the founders of Solidarity," the statement said, adding that Mr. Mazowiecki had the backing of the labour movement to "form a broad coalition government."

Witnesses said that as the Solidarity leader watched television coverage of the proceedings, he discreetly wiped aside a tear as the majority of communist MPs raised their hands to back Mr. Mazowiecki's appointment. Mr. Mazowiecki had been guaranteed the support

of Solidarity and its allies in the smaller Democratic Party and United Peasants Party.

Talking to reporters, Mr. Walesa paid tribute to the "courage of Tadeusz Mazowiecki, because deciding to accept the responsibility of becoming head of the executive was risky and dangerous". He added that he was delighted "to see so many reformers within the Polish United Workers' Party", as the Communist Party is known.

Geremek at Sejm Supports Mazowiecki Candidacy

LD2408152189 Warsaw Television Service
in Polish 1027 GMT 24 Aug 89

[Speech by Bronislaw Geremek, chairman of the Citizens' Parliamentary Floor Group, at the Sejm session in Warsaw—live]

[Text] Mr Speaker, may it please the House. I have to say that I regard this day to be especially important, important for Poland, important for the movement from which the Citizen's Parliamentary Floor Group has grown. One cannot overestimate the historic nature of the decision which our meeting is to make today. This is the first time in 45 years that a Polish Government is to be formed on Polish soil by a non-communist politician, thus breaking the ruling monopoly of one party, a monopoly which runs counter to the will of the people and the interests of the country.

Since the very first months of this year we have been observing a dramatic acceleration of history. We have had here equally processes of destruction of the Polish economy, as well as growing Polish hopes for liberation, independence, and democratization. The election campaign awakened Polish society. It expressed those hopes and aspirations. A great cry went up right across Poland that things could no longer be so, that the country's slide toward a catastrophe had to be halted, that the waste of the toil of Polish hands and Polish minds could no longer be allowed. We have come to the Polish parliament, we the people of Solidarity from towns and from the countryside, and together with us dozens of honest and bold people from other electoral lists, in order to change Poland.

Within these walls words of truth, which have been almost completely absent here for decades, have been heard. But we need facts, we need decisions. The Citizens' Parliamentary Floor Group resolutely opposed the continuation of the previous method of governing the country. From the platform of this highest echelon of the state we often stated that a change is necessary in the principle itself, the political principle of forming the authorities. We refused support for personnel changes proposed by the existing political arrangement, which were in practice aimed at upholding the decaying and inefficient system of nomenklatura. We stated that we were ready to form a government which would bring

together all forces in society and which could get the country out of the crisis, the kind of government Poland needs.

The support that was given to this idea by the deputies of the United Peasants Party and the Democratic Party allows us today to realize this idea. It is significant that precisely here, in the parliamentary chamber, with a sense of responsibility to the nation and to our electorates, that a new union is formed, based on the belief that there is room for everyone in this cause.

It is true that this is taking place at a difficult time, when galloping inflation and a market stripped bare arouse social fear. But now a road of hope is opening up. For the post of a Solidarity premier of a new government Lech Walesa has proposed Tadeusz Mazowiecki, a Catholic activist, one of the leading figures of the Solidarity movement, an experienced and wise politician, a fine man.

To undertake this difficult role the best man has stepped forward. The Citizens' Parliamentary Floor Group warmly supports the candidacy and expresses the conviction that it will gain the approval of the Sejm of the Polish People's Republic. [applause]

Mazowiecki Meets PZPR Parliamentary Floor Group

*LD2408132989 Warsaw PAP in English
1230 GMT 24 Aug 89*

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 24—Tadeusz Mazowiecki met in the morning today with the PUWP [Polish United Workers Party] Parliamentary Floor Group to say that he wants the new government to be open to all forces represented in Parliament.

I refuse to have a government in which the role of the milieu which I represent would boil down solely to the person of premier and several less-important ministries, Mazowiecki said. Speaking about his economic program, Mazowiecki stressed that the main concern of the government would be to at least stop inflation. One of the first tasks of the government will be to prepare for a meeting with the International Monetary Fund.

More on Mazowiecki Meeting

*LD2408161489 Warsaw PAP in English
1433 GMT 24 Aug 89*

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 24—Tadeusz Mazowiecki met the PUWP [Polish United Workers Party] Sejm floor group in the morning today. Welcoming the guest, chairman of the group Marian Orzechowski stressed that the meeting could be termed historic. For the first time in the history of People's Poland, PUWP representatives meet an outstanding representative of the opposition and prime minister designate, he said.

I do not want to be a puppet premier. This means that I will not allow a government in which the role of the

milieu that I represent would boil down only to the person of prime minister and several less important ministries. Concrete talks are still ahead, Mazowiecki said.

I studied the composition of ministries in Poland and came to a conclusion that it was illogical. However, these are legally solved questions and it will be necessary to amend the law.

The economic situation requires sacrifices. I would like to make it clear that my government received a certain legacy for which it is not responsible. But it will be responsible for the steps it will take to solve this situation. Poland needs an anti-crisis pact involving socio-political forces.

One of my government's first tasks will be to demonomopolize the area of purchase to correct all shortcomings of the latest reform. Generally speaking, normal economic mechanisms which are effective and tested in Europe should be restored in Poland.

I am aware that what is taking place in Poland is a revolution in relations with socialist states. The USSR welcomes this with friendliness but we can see some ruffled feathers in other countries. It will be my government's task to overcome such attitudes, Mazowiecki said.

Orzechowski Addresses Sejm on Election

*LD2408164789 Warsaw Television Service in Polish
1034 GMT 24 Aug 89*

[Speech to the Polish Sejm session in Warsaw by Polish United Workers Party parliamentary floor leader Marian Orzechowski—live]

[Text] Citizen speaker, esteemed chamber: We are all witnesses and joint participants in a really historical event. For the first time in more than 40 years a politician coming from outside the workers' party, from the traditional coalition alignment, will stand at the head of our state government. This is an indication of the breakthrough in our homeland.

To us, Tadeusz Mazowiecki is an experienced Catholic politician, a journalist and publicist, a joint architect of the roundtable agreements, and, above all, for 9 years an adviser to and an eminent Solidarity activist.

Esteemed chamber, the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] Parliamentary Floor Group welcomes the decision by the president of the Polish People's Republic with understanding, as one consistent with the will of millions of electors expressed on 4 and 18 June. There is no better solution for Poland today than a government of trust and national responsibility supported by all the political forces represented in this chamber and the wide circle of adherents of deep reforms of political and economic life. I would like to emphasize once again on behalf of the PZPR parliamentary floor group that our

national chance is to be found in the uniting of all forces to solve, in a partnerlike way, the social and economic problems which have accumulated in our state, without prejudices and attempts to eliminate any of the political forces, without violating the still brittle basis of the new internal and international order which is being created.

Esteemed chamber—I don't think I am exaggerating—the whole of Poland is watching us, we are also being watched—and this is no exaggerating—by the very broad international community, both in the East and in the West. Close and distant friends are watching us. We feel this in this chamber. Also by people who wish Poland and Poles ill. We are taking a great historical test today. Today could be the beginning of Poland's accelerated overcoming of its crisis-like collapse.

This could be the begining of true national reconciliation, but it could also be otherwise. We must not waste this great historical chance. In the name of all that binds us, the most essential is the name of Poland and its good. Every party, political force, and social and professional movement must rise above their own particular interests because the future of the entire nation is at stake.

Consideration, moderation, wise self-limitation, readiness to cooperate without prejudice, without scratching the wounds of the past—this is the order of the moment. Joint work and joint responsibility is the only path for the future of our nation and of our state.

Respecting the will of the president, the PZPR parliamentary floor group gives its members full freedom of choice in voting on the basis of their inner convictions about the chances and abilities of the candidate to lead a government in this difficult and decisive time for Poland. Depending on them today—unfortunately also after the Sejm speech made by the candidate for premier—not lacking doubts and questions, knowledge about the program of action of the future government and its political composition. [sentence as heard] By declaring support and constructive cooperation with the new premier wherever his activity serves to resolve the problems of the Polish reality and the materialization of the much needed reform in the internal system, the PZPR parliamentary floor group believes that the candidate will adhere to the statement made to the PZPR parliamentary floor group on the formation of the government of broad coalition, on observance of undertaken agreements, on the application of criteria of competence in the selection of cadres, and to declaration about openness in cooperation with the political forces represented in the house.

Tadeusz Mazowiecki Holds News Conference

LD2408165989 Warsaw Television Service in Polish
1412 GMT 24 Aug 89

[News conference given by Chairman of the Council of Ministers Tadeusz Mazowiecki, held at the Council of Ministers, following his appointment as premier; mediator unidentified—live]

[Text] [Mediator] On behalf of Mr Tadeusz Mazowiecki, chairman of the Council of Ministers, appointed today

by the Sejm of the Polish Peoples Republic, I have the pleasure of welcoming you, ladies and gentlemen, to this news conference by Premier Mazowiecki. Premier Mazowiecki would ask you to forgive him if the conference will not be a long one, but we have limited ourselves to an hour from now, that is, from 1615 until 1715. Ladies and gentlemen, after the conference, I'd ask you to do one favor for the premier: When he leaves the hall, please don't ask additional questions. The premier will certainly be tired after today's hard and difficult day, and he still has a number of duties to fulfill. Now, please, your questions to the premier. Mr Luft, please of TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC.

[Luft] Bogumil Luft, TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC. Last year, in May and August, you were at Gdansk shipyard during the strikes. Those strikes ended, particularly in May. They were ended by the workers—the last group remaining—leaving without reaching an agreement. The workers gave up all the things proposed to them, because nobody wanted to talk to them at the time on the subject of the legalization of Solidarity. Pictures of that scene appeared on the front page of the first issue of the revived TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC. I'd like to ask what you would like to say, Mr Premier, to those young people with whom you then left Gdansk shipyard.

[Mazowiecki] My answer is short and clear. We left, they—some of them—full of pain, seemingly disappointed at the decision, although they quickly understood that they had left with honor. I don't think either they or I supposed that the exit would lead to my entry into this room, and I send them warm greetings.

[Mediator] Please could you introduce yourselves when you ask questions so that the premier can know to whom he is talking. Please [word indistinct], you said something, you with the glasses.

[Nariskiewicz] Ryszard Nariskiewicz from the weekly ZWIAZKOWIEC. Premier, I have the following question. Today, probably Poland's greatest problem is people's attitude to the daily [word indistinct], in other words to the economy. Both the main trade unions, the OPZZ [National Confederation of Trade Unions] and Solidarity are having increasingly greater difficulties with, let's say with trade union discipline. People are increasingly taking less heed of trade union activists and increasingly frequently—seized with despair—protest. Premier, will your government have the possibilities to observe the law, and thus, at least, if strikes take place they will be taken in line with the law? If you are going to have such possibilities, apart from appeals, will that also include the force of law?

[Mediator] Thank you.

[Mazowiecki] I think that one should hope at the moment, above all—and I would like to express such a hope, and ask in connection with it, replying to your question, that the readers of reports on this conference, those who hear it, and thus people, who, whether they are

on strike or intend to strike—I ask them to allow this government to form and begin to function.

As regards your question about strikes being able to take place in accordance with the law, I reply that I was in fact cochairman of the trade union team at the round table on the changing of the Trade Union Act: We left the matter of strikes. Only a so-called small amendment was made; however, a grand amendment awaits us now, and I think that within that grand amendment this matter should be regulated in such a way that the law would not be the same as it is at the moment, when people must simply evade it and the authorities must tolerate this. One has, therefore, to find a sensible and proper solution to that problem, when amending the act.

[Mediator] Please, that lady.

[Unidentified correspondent] [Passage indistinct]

[Mazowiecki] Of course I share it. I don't know how this microphone works; maybe somebody will help us.

[Unidentified correspondent] Do you share the view that it is not the division of portfolios in your cabinet and the political configuration, but (?keeping) the nation patient that will be decisive for the success of your government?

[Mazowiecki] I share that view.

[Unidentified correspondent] [Passage indistinct]

[Mazowiecki] I beg your pardon?

[Indistinct question]

[Mazowiecki] I don't understand.

[Unidentified correspondent] I mean awareness in (?preparing) public opinion for your government.

[Mazowiecki] I think the proper information policy will have an important bearing here. As I have said, I'd like this government to tell society the truth, even the difficult or complicated truth, but the truth; and that information policy will have the proper influence.

[Unidentified correspondent] PAP. With reference to the question about strikes, I'd like to ask the prime minister if he hasn't considered the possibility of appealing to all Poles and to the trade unions to stop strike action? And another brief question: You have stressed many times the vital need to draw up a program of adaptation for the EEC. Why, in your opinion, is this so very important? And a third question: Could you define at this moment the concept of the Polish *raison d'etat*?

[Mazowiecki] As regards an appeal, well, please forgive me, but I've only just been appointed by the Sejm—how many hours ago—and I really haven't had the chance yet to consider this. The preceding days have been very intensive for me, too, but I am counting on understanding without the use of special appeals. As regards the second issue, that program of adaptation is urgent

inasmuch as that, at the beginning of September, there is a meeting of the IMF, and Poland will be required to present its stance. I think that Poland's special situation, now that the government is formed, may enable us—maybe such a necessity will arise—to appeal for certain, although not long, postponement of the deadlines, for that reason, presenting Poland's stance, to enable us to that. As far as our reason of state is concerned I would refer you to my speech today. I think I explained it all.

[Unidentified correspondent] Danish radio and television. Mr prime minister have you been in contact with leaders of any other countries, or did you receive cables of congratulations from important leaders abroad? What were the first words you heard from Lech Walesa after nomination? Thank you.

[Mazowiecki] Even before nomination, when I was designated, as is known, I received a telegram from the French prime minister and the French minister of foreign affairs. Today, before the conference, I read the first telegram, which came to me from the prime minister of the GDR Government.

[Jerzy Franczaski] EXPRESS WIECZORN. With what team of people, and of what economic outlook will you propose the program for saving the economy, and to what degree will the program be based on advice from Professor Daks?

[Mazowiecki] Please give me some time. Today I am not able to answer your question because assembling of people demands time, as well as a study of the program of Prof. Daks who, as I heard, is in Poland, but I was unable to see him. It demands some time.

[Unidentified correspondent] Mr Premier, as you're Poland's first premier...first Catholic premier for many decades, I would like to ask your views on the separation of Church and State. In particular, will your government seek a greater role for the Church in education, and also will your government seek to represent the law criminalizing abortion, which was presented a few months ago?

[Mazowiecki] I have already commented on this in a series of interviews I have given [word indistinct] in the past few days. I am someone who for many years has opposed the concept of a world-outlook state, and I don't intend to strive for one world-outlook state to be replaced, or one concept of a world-outlook state to be replaced by another concept. In any case, this would not be in accordance with contemporary Church teaching. Matters of education are obviously very important and the influence—particularly moral problem—on a proper solution of moral problems of teaching is very important. Your second question, I reply that as a Catholic, personally, I am against abortion. I support protection of life, but I think that protection of life should be made first of all by educational means without recourse to repressive measures.

[Unidentified correspondent] USA TODAY. Mr Premier, do you have any plans to visit either Moscow or Washington in the next few months?

[Mazowiecki] At this moment I do not plan anything. First I have to form a government, but obviously I will very willingly go to Moscow, and very willingly go to Washington if such is the need of Poland.

[Zygmunt Slomkowski] TRYBUNA LUDU Mr Premier, two questions. First, decisions of your cabinet perforce will decide directions of social and system development. How do you see these directions today? Second, the community impatiently awaits the first decision of the government. What do you foresee as being the first decisions concerning concrete issues demanding an urgent solution, even within the priorities listed in your Sejm statement today.

[Mazowiecki] As far as the directions of sociopolitical development in forming the government are concerned, I think you will find the answer in my statement today. This concerns the fashioning of a law-governed state, rule of law, the proper fashioning and utilization of the mass-media, so that there is not a monopoly, but pluralism. As I have said, as far as the first economic decisions are concerned, well, ladies and gentlemen, this is a job I am just learning, I am just getting into, and I would like to show reticence here from such declarations. My first task is to form a government and to learn quickly. I will not pronounce any bright ideas here that I already have some kind of well-defined first decision, because that would be irresponsible. Perhaps I will be able to reply to your question in a few days' time, but not today.

[Mediator] Go ahead, please.

[Unidentified correspondent] Spanish Press Agency. Premier, nearly 20 years ago in Spain the process of transfer toward today's democracy was formed. Do you see any similarities between the processes of both these countries, Poland and Spain, today, and especially in the (?future).

[Mazowiecki] I think that one can speak of similarities, as both here and there it was a question of a road toward democracy, whereas political conditions were completely different.

[Unidentified correspondent] [Words indistinct] I would like to ask you how you envisage your relations with President Jaruzelski, and, more generally, what is your interpretation of the Constitution and the relations between you and the executive?

[Mazowiecki] I think my task and duty as premier is full respect for the competences and powers of the president, and I will do that; and I think the president, for his part, will fully respect the competences of the premier. My first contacts with the president point to my being able to hope that this is how our relations will be.

John [name indistinct], THE NEW YORK TIMES. Mr Premier, you said that information policy will have a real bearing on the work of the government. What is your view on the issue of appointing a president of the Committee for Radio and Television Affairs?

[Mazowiecki] My view is that radio and television should be pluralistic; but on matters of personnel, of the political line-up of the government, I will make a statement with the facts, as I construct it.

[Unidentified correspondent] Mr Premier, yesterday, at a meeting with the OKP [Citizens' Parliamentary Floor Group] you said you would be utilizing public opinion when undertaking important issues. I'd like to ask whether on economic issues you envisage any kind of referendum, for example, because it is becoming increasingly clear that there must be agreement to certain sacrifices by society. Thank you.

[Mazowiecki] Indeed, I am considering this method also. I do not know whether this would be the appropriate method, whether people would really express their views, or whether they are so discouraged that they would, say, not go to vote in a referendum. I must analyze and study this matter, with the participation of economists and sociologists, so as to draw advice on this. Apart from a referendum, I am considering—eventually—I am considering, well, above all generally, that the government be well-informed and, what is most important, that the government receives real information, that it does not base its decisions on false indications specially served up to it. This I would very much like to take care over.

[Unidentified correspondent] Mr Premier, [words indistinct] of this day, you have had time to enter your new office for a moment, apparently accompanied by your sons. What did you feel then, what did you talk about? A second question, an economic one if you will allow this: Will you be inclined, despite the country's grievous economic crisis and the program that you will accept for coming out of the crisis, to maintain the obligations made by the previous authorities, both governmental and Sejm, relating to the finance and assistance of the state in rescuing the old monuments of Krakow? Thank you.

[Mazowiecki] Krakow represents such an important part of the national culture that I would be the last man to give up the already undertaken obligations as far as rescuing Krakow is concerned.

As far as your first question is concerned, well, I wanted to find out what the office was like. I saw that it was a bit dark in there, that the windows are a bit small, but there is lots of space. I am a bit scared by the enormity of the building. I would like to retain human values in all the mazes that are there, so to speak.

[Unidentified correspondent] Mr Premier, it is now 19 years since the signing of the treaty between Poland and the FRG in Warsaw. Since then, relations between these two states have been undergoing constant transitory

changes, and so far there has been no question of a breakthrough which one would, in principle, like to see in these relations. What do you see as the task for Poland, and also for the FRG, for these relations not to continue going through such transitory changes, through improvements, deteriorations, for the breakthrough to take place?

[Mazowiecki] I think that we should move away from this mutual transitory treatment. It is very important to make the next step in this reconciliation and cooperation, especially economic cooperation between our countries. As far as I know, not so long ago it was very close, but the reverse took place, which I regret. I think and hope that progress will now be made; this will be the intention of the government I will form.

[Maciej Kosow] KURIER POLSKI. I would like to ask what part of the Democratic Party [SD] program you would like to include in the government program as being the most important issues?

[Mazowiecki] I think this topic will be discussed with the SD representatives who will enter the government, and it will be they who will put forward what they consider to be the most important points in their program. At the moment, in preliminary talks, we are discussing general matters. We have discussed economic development, the development of private economy, handicrafts, or observance of the law; but I think that SD representatives themselves will define the priorities which, in their opinion, should be introduced into the government program.

[Unidentified correspondent] UPI: Does Mr Premier have plans to promote an understanding for Polish affairs in Czechoslovakia or Romania, particularly after the statement by RUDE PRAVO that your election constitutes a nail in socialism's coffin?

[Mazowiecki] I do not know about those statements although some remarks are reaching me. I am open to all people, to mutual understanding. As a premier of the government legally appointed by the supreme body of parliament of Poland I will represent the government in relations with all countries, with all neighbors regardless of this or that statement by this or that paper. I hope that all misunderstandings in this field will be removed.

[Unidentified correspondent] [Words indistinct] obligation to pay its foreign debt?

[Mazowiecki] I think debts have to be paid, but I also think—and this isn't just my personal viewpoint but the view expressed by the highest moral authorities of the contemporary world, or maybe I can say it in the singular: by the highest moral authority in the contemporary world—that the issue of debt should be thought about, that it contains important elements of justice in international relations as well. So, if you ask me, I answer: Debts have to be paid. Every state and government is obliged to do this. One should strive in international relations so that issues of debt, from the moral and

also from the economic side—the side of economic effectiveness—be reviewed, so that they do not throttle the possibility for economic development of debtor countries.

[Tomasz Karpinski] Solidarity Trade Union Research Center. Mr Premier, could you address two or three words to Solidarity members throughout Poland, off the cuff—your first reflections.

[Mazowiecki] I have already spoken on Solidarity television to members of Solidarity. At this moment, after my election, I may convey to them, to all of my friends and colleagues, the most cordial wishes and to say that I ask them for the maximum support in this difficult role which I have taken on.

[Jan Sek] Nationwide private press agency. Mr Premier, in seeking recipes for getting out of the economic crisis, one may perceive several schools of thought. One, for example, ties hopes to foreign aid, and another seeks opportunities for mobilizing the population's private foreign currency resources. What is your position, sir, on these two matters?

[Mazowiecki] I think that we should reach for both of these sources and to both of these possibilities.

[Name indistinct] From Danish broadcasting. My question relates to what you said this morning, Mr Premier, that you respect...your government will respect Poland's position in the Warsaw Pact, and then, it also relates to what you just said, that you hope misunderstandings can be worked out. Now, with the resolution of the Sejm on the events of 1968, Poland recently made a great contribution in support of the reformist forces in Czechoslovakia. Now, does your concept of respect for the Warsaw Pact also imply that your government also in the future, by your (?actions) can support reformist forces in the most dogmatic countries in the Warsaw Pact?

[Mazowiecki] I do not think that people striving for reforms in the socialist countries should be identified with...[pauses] immediately with opponents of the Warsaw Pact or with people who must, who want to undermine this pact. In general I will reply to your question that I once more confirm that which I said in the Sejm. I have nothing else to add on this matter.

[Unidentified correspondent] CORRIERE DELLA SERA, Italian daily. My question is weak after that of my colleague from the Danish newspaper. Mr Premier, have you received any message of joy, or congratulation, from the Vatican?

[Mazowiecki] You will permit me to reply to this question for you at the end of the news conference.

[Unidentified correspondent] [Newspaper name indistinct] Mr Premier, what deadline do you give for the creation of the Council of Ministers? That is the first question. The second question: A new Poland, a new

government coalition, new relations—how will the foreign policy of the Polish People's Republic look? Will there be any change?

[Mazowiecki] Perhaps you will repeat the first question. I could not hear.

[Same correspondent] What deadline do you give for the creation of a new Council of Ministers?

[Mazowiecki] I have already spoken about this. I would very much like to form the government by the end of August. On the other hand, this is a very short deadline and I do not know if it can be kept. I will find out in the coming days. As I say, I have had general talks, but as the saying goes, the devil resides in the details. I might come across all sorts of difficulties. Over and above that there is a technical difficulty, with the matter of the holding of a Sejm meeting in association with the Congress of Young Parliamentarians, the Forum of Young Parliamentarians, that takes place at the same time.

[Wieczorkowski] Aleksander Wieczorkowski, chairman of the Main Council of the Association of Polish Journalists [SDP]. Mr Premier, you have spoken about information policy. The next Radio Solidarity program, lasting 30 minutes, will be broadcast next Wednesday at a few minutes past 0700. The remaining radio program is still compiled by Chairman Urban, who is maybe a proreform force, but don't you think, Mr Premier, that until full pluralism of the Radio Committee is achieved, couldn't someone be added to help him in the coming week, so important for shaping public opinion in Poland—someone with equal or even similar reforming tendencies to the present Radio Committee and representing, so to speak, not the previous government side? Thank you.

[Mazowiecki] I have been in this post only a few hours and I can't enter into these matters. Please understand that certain current government affairs are in progress, and are still being carried out by ministers of the previous government. I can't take this over, for I wouldn't otherwise be able, in technical and time terms, to carry out my tasks linked with forming a government. However, I think that in that time I will have access to television.

[Unidentified correspondent] LA STAMPA, Italy. Mr Premier, how would you define, if it's possible, your government? A coalition among three parties, a grand coalition, or a coalition among four parties?

[Mazowiecki] Talks are in progress. The point of departure for the creation of this government was an initiative by Solidarity Chairman Lech Walesa. It is first and foremost he who is the author of this breakthrough, the political author of this breakthrough. Next it was the definition of the position in the well-known statement made jointly with the chairman of the United Peasant Party [ZSL] and the SD. Consequently this new coalition is the point of departure for the formation of a government which is going to be an open government, open to

forces represented in parliament. I have used the expression broad coalition. One could seek or expect all manner of expressions. But it is not expressions which are at issue; what is at issue is that the political principle of organizing a government [pauses]...that no longer just one party is as if a depository of being able to be the builder of the government. That is a completely fundamental change which has come about thanks to the creation of this coalition, whereas what the government will be like, how broad—you will have to exercise a bit of patience, because that will finally transpire after further talks.

[Barker] Vicky Barker, NBC Mutual Radio. Mr Premier, are you satisfied with the level of aid which President Bush has offered to Poland, or would like to see aid to a greater extent?

[Mazowiecki] I would wish that this help develop more widely and that economic cooperation develop more widely, and I will be seeking this.

[Unidentified correspondent] Mr Premier, before it transpired that the mission of General Kiszczak had ended in failure, the creation of institutions such as the State Property Board [ZMP], which would deal with the limits of reprivatization or else the sale of state property to foreign economies, or else foreign investment agencies—these are examples of entities that were to have been directly subordinated to parliament—was projected. At this moment, the situation has changed. Does the premier see such institutions which were to have been—despite the fact that the government will be appointed by you—institutions that will stand below parliament and will be outside the government?

[Mazowiecki] I think that there is a certain error here. Such an (?institution) exists already, already exists and is subservient to the government and not to parliament. On the other hand, of course, it is possible to conceive of institutions that would be subservient to parliament and the matter is open to discussion, yes. I will be looking at this matter from the point of view, of well, efficiency of activity in these matters; taking into account, of course, the will and opinion of the Sejm and the senate.

[Same correspondent] Mr Premier, I set two questions and did not get a reply to the second question.

[Unidentified correspondent] Mr Premier, as is known, in your government the Ministry of National Defense and also the Ministry of Internal Affairs are reserved. Do you feel, does the premier feel, that this is a limitation of the freedom of action of the premier. Can these limitations also manifest themselves in international relations? In association with this, is it appropriate to treat your government as a transitional government?

[Mazowiecki] I think that one can answer as I have already tried to, that we will indeed strive for this in future, for the situation in Poland to be such that one political force is in opposition at one time and the next time, another is in opposition, in the government; that

all line-ups change, as happens in a fully democratic system. Here in Poland, we are on the way toward that. We are on the way, on the way to that, but only on the way. Not everything is simple in this area nor clear. Not everything can be done at once. I think this step we are taking is a great step whose seriousness has to be seen and respected. However, one cannot expect everything to be able to be done at once. In this sense, if you ask, it will be a transitional government, in the sense of leading to the further development of democracy, to be a further qualitative stage in the development of democracy.

[Unidentified correspondent] You will be heading the fourth successive government which describes itself as a reforming government. The three previous ones did not cope, making various concessions under pressure from different lobbies or under pressure from work forces. Do you see yourself and your government as a hard government of reformer-managers, or as a benevolent, caring government?

[Mazowiecki] Firstly, sir, when two people say the same thing, it isn't the same. Hence I am not easily going to agree with your definition of the fourth reformist government. Without detracting from the reformist intentions of other governments, this government will be different in its political composition, and this is fairly significant in order to understand what this government is or will be. I would like to stress clearly that this government, regardless of composition, is not a government which bears a responsibility for the bad economic situation which it is inheriting. Concerning the second matter, without blurring the difference between a government of hard managers and a kindly government of welfare [words indistinct] which would say that a hard manager government should see problems of pauperization where these exist in massive regions of poverty in Poland. Neither one way nor the other does not seem to me proper [as heard]. It does not mean that there will not be sharp and clear decisions, but it also does not mean that this government will not see social problems and take them into consideration.

[Moskal] Jan Moskal, TRYBUNA OPOLSKA. Mr Premier, I come from the Opole part of Lower Silesia, where for years the problem of emigration to the FRG has been growing. Recently in this region a completely new phenomenon has germinated, namely, the German national minority. The group of people signing the appropriate lists is growing. A resolution for registration of this minority, after being thrown out by the regional court, is currently in the course of review in the voivodship court in Opole. I would like to ask the premier for an opinion on precisely this matter, especially of the German national minority.

[Mazowiecki] I think that the real needs and the real rights, the real needs of the cultural minorities, all of them—including in this the German cultural minority—must be seen to exist and must be recognized. The government I form should have its eyes open to this. However, I want also to say that we know that this

problem is not so much—I don't want to say exaggerated, though that too—but quite simply often a problem—about which it must be clearly said—that has for other reasons, such as from the large disproportion between the standard of living in the FRG and Poland. That is why the problem must be quite simply seen in its correct proportions. It is also necessary to have the hope that especially the young generation, the young generation everywhere, including in the Opole section of Lower Silesia, will see also its possibilities and its chances for life in Poland.

[Unidentified correspondent] Canadian Television. Mr Premier, as head of government, do you have any intention of pushing ahead the timetable for truly free elections in Poland. In other words, could we have elections before 1992?

[Mazowiecki] I think that the matter of the speeding up or not of parliamentary elections does not come within my province.

[Unidentified correspondent] Mr Premier, some East European countries like Hungary or Czechoslovakia are gradually increasing their trade with some East Asian countries. Will your government look at this question, and what will be the possibilities to enlarge your trade, sell your goods to some East Asia countries, especially my country, Taiwan?

[Mazowiecki] I ask for some little patience, I hope that this question may soon be answered efficiently by the minister of foreign trade of the government which I will form. Naturally, it will be a general trend for the utmost development of economic cooperation with all countries, including countries which you represent, often economically much better developed than us, but with whom cooperation would, for Poland, be very beneficial.

[Niedzwiedzki] Lech Niedzwiedzki, GAZETA MŁODYCH. Mr Premier, as head of government, do you support the idea of taking political organizations out from work enterprises?

[Mazowiecki] I have already expressed my stance on this. I support the idea that promotion and authority in work enterprises should be first of all and exclusively decided by competence. On the other hand, I ask in my first hours not to make a more difficult situation by creating an atmosphere of threat and difficulties, which may create considerable difficulty for basic tasks the government must perform.

[Unidentified correspondent] Mr Premier, how much time do you allow yourself to see if the mission of repair of the republic is successful?

[Mazowiecki] My dear lady, I do not know, honestly I don't know. I think that I will be able to answer the question in time. At this moment I am mainly concerned with whether or not some psychological turning point will take place in Poland, whether people will understand that a new chance is being opened, a new chapter. Very

much depends on it. Later on I will verify the time, which as you said, I give myself.

[Debbie Stewart] AP. Until now, the Politburo has played an important role in the formulation of government policy. What is your relation, what is going to be the relationship of your government to the Politburo, to this body, if it will have any relationship at all?

[Mazowiecki] Let me reply. This depends to what extent the PZPR [Polish United Workers Party] will take co-responsibility, will be drawn into co-responsibility for the work of this government. Upon this depends the shaping of these relations. In any case, however, it is difficult not to notice the role which this party and its leadership fulfills, and I cannot imagine that, even if these relations did not take the form of an undertaking of co-responsibility, that there should be no relations here whatsoever. I think, however, that this problem of co-responsibility will be positively solved in the formation of the government.

[Leszek Luczak] PRON [Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth]. Mr Premier, the success, the effectiveness of every government, of every premier in the world, depends to some extent, I think to a quite large one, on the efficiency, qualifications, and loyalty of the administrative apparatus. You, sir, have inherited an apparatus formed by another political structure over many years. Do you think, sir, that this apparatus will have to be changed and to what degree, from the capital to the provinces? Thank you.

[Mazowiecki] I think that a fundamental change, particularly at the lowest level, will take place there, along with the restoration to Poland of territorial self-government. I will strive for this. My intention is that a minister without portfolio for territorial self-government will be found within the composition of the government, so that this activity concerning the reform of territorial self-government can already be prepared beforehand. This is the fundamental basis, trust, which will bring about significant reform. And I generally repeat that I will be applying, I will be protecting the principle of competence, and also, I will demand loyalty to the government which I will form.

[Unidentified correspondent] [Words indistinct] Mr Premier, I did not receive a reply to the second question which I posed earlier, namely, today, with the current political arrangement in Poland, will there be any change in the foreign policy of the Polish Peoples Republic? Thank you.

[Mazowiecki] Sir, I think that there may be a change in this sense, that an intensification in international relations will occur, particularly in economic relations. In this sense, I would like to count on the possibility of this intensification. However, the general directions of foreign policy, both those which are connected with our membership as a country of the Warsaw Pact and of CEMA, as well as those which are connected with the policy of cooperation, particularly the construction of

Europe, a great Europe. The intensification of this European cooperation will not be changed but it will be intensified. Today, everyone states that the time for interbloc conflicts passed a long time ago. However, we are in a period of mutual opening-up and, in particular, the building of European cooperation, which the government that I am forming will want to intensify.

[Boleslaw Jastrun] PLOMIEN. I would like to refer to two matters of which you spoke: the question of the loyalty and competence of state administration organs. I would like to quote you in GAZETA WYBORCZA. The following sentence: I will not conduct a witch hunt, but I will be guided by the principle of competence, and the principle of full loyalty of the organs of administration, and the apparatus of all ministries in respect of the government. As is generally known, the linking of the principle of competence and the principle of loyalty is called nomenklatura, it can be called otherwise but it would not change the essence of it. In view of the above, it would transpire that the government wishes to continue the practice of nomenklatura which has been tested not only in our own system and in our own country. In connection with the above I have the following question: In what way does the government intend to realize the policy of nomenklatura with respect to the loyalty of the apparatus? As has very often happened in history by way of some special bodies especially set up for it? Thank you.

[Mazowiecki] I admit that I do not understand your question. Is the principle of competence the principle of nomenklatura, and of loyalty toward the state and not the party?

I will demand loyalty to the government I will form, to the state and to the government, and not to this or that party.

[Unidentified correspondent] LE MONDE. Do you intend to abolish censorship?

[Mazowiecki] Firstly, censorship is not under my jurisdiction as premier, only under the president's powers. Secondly it is a matter for the Sejm.

[Moderator] That gentleman, there in the...yes sir.

[Janczak] Stanislaw Janczak. SZTANDAR LUDU. Mr Premier, you spoke about the attitude of your government to national minorities in Poland. I would like to ask about your attitude to the Polonia. I am thinking here not just of exploiting the intellectual and material potential of the American Polonia, but also of the Polonia in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

[Mazowiecki] I think that today I cannot go beyond just a general statement, but it is true, we are very much concerned about the affairs of the Polonia, that they will concern this government. (After all, as far as I know, a special commission in this sphere has been formed in the Sejm, or in the Senate, and the work and the interests of

the government which I will lead will be (?in harmony) with the work and interests of this commission.

[Moderator] Mr Lapinski, the last question.

[Lapinski] Pawel Lapinski, TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC. To end, I want to ask what, according to you, sir, is the greatest threat to the new government?

[Mazowiecki] The greatest threat to the new government, it appears to me, would be if understanding for its difficult position, for the exceptionally difficult tasks which this government must solve, particularly in the first stage, did not appear; if, instead of a certain credit of patience for the solving of these problems, the phenomena of great impatience and above all, some elemental processes of mutual aversion and even hatred, were to appear. What I would like to achieve, which I am saying with complete honesty and openness, and which Poland greatly needs, is the introduction of a new climate. There are many wrongs within this nation. There are many wrongs, but today, we, everyone, must make the effort for new relations among ourselves. If we make this effort, then I hope that along with these changes we will come out on top, we will emerge on the straight road. If, however, we were to sink in mutual aversion and hatred, in the settling of scores, this would be a great threat to this road which we are taking. And that is why I am counting on this climate, above all. I see here that green light for Polish hope, which our people must switch on themselves, fighting, above all, for something, for democratic transformations in Poland, for economic changes, above all, for something and not against someone.

[Moderator] Thank you very much, ladies and gentlemen.

[Mazowiecki] If I may still add a couple of words—I told the gentleman here that I would reply to his question at the end. Well, I would like, first to add to my reply to the question. Please forgive me, I am a very tired man after these recent days, so please forgive me. First, I want to add that when there was talk of the first messages, that I was greatly pleased by the French message, and that I am very pleased also by this first dispatch which I received from the GDR. However, replying to your question, sir, concerning the Apostolic See, concerning the Vatican. I want simply to tell you truthfully, ladies and gentlemen, that precisely after leaving this hall, in a moment, I will be phoning the holy father, John Paul II. And afterwards—I have also not yet replied to this question—afterwards, the first premier originating from Solidarity, will phone Lech Walesa. Thank you, ladies and gentlemen. I ask for continued interest not in me, but in Poland, in our common affairs, and for good will. Thank you.

[Moderator] Thank you very much, ladies and gentlemen. I apologize for transgressions, but this is a debut. [loud applause]

Jaruzelski Meets New Premier Mazowiecki

LD2408191689 Warsaw PAP in English
1821 GMT 24 Aug 89

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 24—After the voting in the Sejm, Polish newly-elected Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki paid a visit to President Wojciech Jaruzelski.

The president congratulated Tadeusz Mazowiecki on his election to prime minister and wished him success in fulfilling responsible tasks he has been entrusted with. Jaruzelski also expressed a conviction that the new government will meet the expectations of society as an efficient government built on the basis of a broad coalition and confidence of the nation.

The prime minister assured the president that he will strive to form a new government in the shortest possible time. He stressed his will to act according to the principles and directions he presented in his Sejm address.

Walesa Statement After Mazowiecki Election

LD2408191589 Warsaw PAP in English
1753 GMT 24 Aug 89

[Text] Gdansk, Aug. 24—After Tadeusz Mazowiecki's election to Poland's prime minister, press spokesman for Solidarity Piotr Nowina-Konopka conveyed to PAP the following statement by Lech Walesa:

Tadeusz Mazowiecki's election to the prime minister of the Polish Government is an unprecedented event. In critical economic circumstances, after 45 years of a Communist Party wielding monopolist power, society pins its hopes on a man who has lived his life fighting for Poland, who is co-architect of Solidarity and who has been given Solidarity's support to form a broad coalition. Thus, this will be a solidarity government the idea of which won a united support of the United Peasant's Party and Democratic Party.

The process of reforming Poland has just begun. The scale of the crisis requires the speeding up of this process and the undertaking of unconventional actions. It also necessitates a concerted cooperation of all political forces in this country within the real political set-up and in tune with social expectations.

As chairman of Solidarity, I rejoice at today's decision by the Sejm and on behalf of the entire nation I wish Tadeusz Mazowiecki that the government he heads should become a government of all Poles effectively shifting this country from a totalitarian system to democracy.

Mazowiecki Speaks With Pope, Lech Walesa

LD2408204689 Warsaw PAP in English
1957 GMT 24 Aug 89

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 24—On the first day of holding the post this afternoon Polish Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki had a phone talk with Pope John Paul II

during which the latter conveyed greetings also to Poland's President Wojciech Jaruzelski. Next the Premier talked to Solidarity chairman Lech Walesa on the phone.

Also today Mazowiecki met at the office of the Council of Ministers with its high-ranking officials.

Warsaw TV Interviews Mazowiecki on Issues

LD2408191189 Warsaw Television Service in Polish
1730 GMT 24 Aug 89

[Interview with Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki with unidentified correspondent in Warsaw on 24 Aug]

[Text] [Correspondent] Mr Premier, why did you undertake the function of Premier and the mission of forming a government in a situation that is very difficult, some say hopeless?

[Mazowiecki] First, because though it is difficult someone must start. Second, because it is worth it. The matter at hand is a great one, the point is to get out of it quite simply. The point is Poland.

[Correspondent] Where does all this optimism come from, Mr Premier?

[Mazowiecki] I think that one is optimistic when, first, one has faith in people, and second, one has a certain feeling of moderation, one knows that not everything marvelous will be attained, but that one is doing things that are relevant, that will in fact bring, for the people, for my countrymen, for any country, significant changes. Hence, I think that it is necessary to have a little of this optimism, and I would like to as if I have hope that this will not just be my optimism, but that other people too will think that it is worth it. (in significant measure).

[Correspondent] What will this Poland that you want to create be like?

[Mazowiecki] Above all, this will be a Poland of all Poles, freer, more democratic, and I would like to have the hope that it is also a Poland without frightening lines, without frightening dramas. Not right away, but a more prosperous one.

Walesa Discusses Solidarity Preparedness

PM2408170589 Milan L'UNITA in Italian
22 Aug 89 p 3

[Interview with Polish Solidarity Chairman Lech Walesa in Gdansk by correspondent Gabriel Bertinetto: "Walesa: 'I Could Not Make the Premier'"; date not specified]

[Text] Gdansk—Sitting in his office, Walesa turns a package over and over in his hands. He pulls at the tape and unwinds the paper. Out falls a little oval gift box—a

gift from the delegation of U.S. senators who have just paid him a visit, to assure him that U.S. support will not falter.

We are in the vast gray building that houses the Solidarity headquarters in Gdansk, almost opposite the famous Lenin shipyard (although the name of the October Revolution's leader mysteriously disappeared from the signboard one night last week). We asked Walesa what point had been reached in the negotiations on forming the new, Solidarity-led government and what role the communists might play in it. The Nobel prize winner replied in his characteristic rapid and impetuous style: "In the first place, Premier-designate Tadeusz Mazowiecki has to present himself to parliament to secure confirmation of the mandate given to him by the head of state. This is not yet certain to happen, because the period of blackmail and intimidation is now beginning. We have experienced the communists' behavior in the past, so we know that anything is possible."

[Question] To what kind of blackmail are you referring?

[Walesa] It is enough to read the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] Central Committee resolution. However, if the communists desist from starting rumors and publishing unhelpful statements, then, given that there are some sensible people in the PZPR, there will be room in the government for them and they will find a place in parliament in 4 years' time when we go to the polls. If, on the other hand, they continue trying to intimidate us, there will be no place for them in the leadership now being formed. And they risk being left outside parliament in the next legislature, because society will punish them for their behavior. So, everything rests in their own hands, and, above all, in their minds. It would be difficult to collaborate with them if, instead of occupying themselves seriously with reforms, they were to persist in pressure, blackmail, and intimidation. By doing that, they themselves would forfeit their place in the game. For this reason I appeal to the PZPR, and through you as well: Concern yourselves with the democratic changes which the country needs and think about a program for the government. Demonstrate that you are capable of achieving more than in the past; then you will recover a role in Poland. Indeed, that is my wish.

[Question] The PZPR is asking to enter the government on the basis of a clear, global accord and says that it cannot be content with only the interior and defense ministries. What do you think about that?

[Walesa] The Polish Communist Party is used to monopolizing power and is not succeeding in transforming itself. They are jumping about like fleas trying vainly to escape the comb, when it would be better to stop and think and uncover the causes of their defeat. That is what they ought to be thinking about, and not ways of maintaining command.

[Question] What is your judgment of the new premier as a man and as a politician?

[Walesa] No one will be able to say that I did not contribute to the choice. No one will be able to say that it was not I who proposed him. Mazowiecki is a man of high intellectual class, and I hope that all of us together will be able to set the government on its way so that we can start to solve the problems. I believe in the choice that has been made, and I pressed for it.

[Question] Will you be devoting yourself mainly to the trade union from now on?

[Walesa] I will be where Poland asks me to be, wherever I can be useful to Poland. I have sacrificed my person on the altar of the homeland. No one can say that I could not have been president of the republic. I could have been; I had the best chance to become president. I could even have been head of the government. I was asked in writing by the parliamentary groups of Solidarity, the Peasant Party, and the Democratic Party. But I stood aside—and not because I was not equal to the tasks. But I am sure that, even while holding different jobs, I can work for the president and for the prime minister without actually being either one or the other. There is a lot that I can do, and I will strive to do it.

[Question] Solidarity is in power. How are the union's activities going to change?

[Walesa] Many things will change, but there is no answer to these questions right now, and things could not be otherwise. Only time will produce the right solution. I wonder whether I may have to develop activity that is more political or more trade union-based. I am at the helm of the trade union, but without a good economic policy there will not be a good union. If we have hitherto staked everything on trade union demands and relegated economic reforms to second place, I think we have been mistaken.

[Question] Is not Solidarity afraid of losing some popular support now that it is involved in the government sphere?

[Walesa] Yes, certainly this is a very dangerous maneuver that we have set in motion. It is risky and it is not very prudent. I did not have to do it. I did it in the knowledge that it might be a mistake. So, why ask me? The point is that on three previous occasions, in 1970, 1976, and 1980, I tried to set reforms in motion, but each time everything was nullified by the persistence of the communist monopoly on power. With those experiences behind me, I realized that time was beginning to run out. The communists kept total control of the state and performed about-turns on the projected reforms. The same thing was about to happen this time. We agreed that the president should be a communist because our membership in the Warsaw Pact, among other things, was at stake. Then, on giving up the secretaryship of the PZPR, President Jaruzelski proposed as his successor former premier Rakowski, who is now under parliamentary investigation for his bankrupt economic policy. And what did the outgoing premier do? He proposed another communist leader, Kiszczak, as his successor. It was, in

sum, the rebirth of the classic monopoly. Knowing the history of what went before, we judged it necessary to oppose this. Thus it happened that, although we were not yet ready, we had to agree to take over the government. Otherwise the game would have been lost. It was a low blow. Only when we are actually in government will we know what we are there for. In any case, if we had ducked the blow would have hit us just the same. Now we have a chance, at least. It is a small chance, but we have it.

[Question] You have said that Solidarity has achieved the maximum change possible in Poland under the present system. Do you not fear the hostile reaction of the more conservative East European governments?

[Walesa] No, I am not afraid, because I know that we have to reach that outcome sooner or later. It was not my wish to act in such haste; indeed my position was to oppose it. Simply, there was no choice. We acted under the pressure of events, in conditions of necessity, and not out of a rational choice.

[Question] When are you going to meet Gorbachev?

[Walesa] I would very much like to meet him, but I think that he has a great number of problems right now, and I truly hope that he can solve them. He has more urgent things to do at the moment than to see me. But if he finds it useful some day, I will be glad to meet him.

Paper Questions PZPR Stance on Coalition

LD2408162189 Warsaw PAP in English
1334 GMT 24 Aug 89

["DZIENNIK LUDOWY" Who Wants Confrontation?"—PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 24—A reply to this question posed by today's DZIENNIK LUDOWY has been given by Sejm Deputy Aniela Bukala who said among other things:

The PUWP [Polish United Workers' Party/PZPR] Central Committee's stand on forming a new government and the current political situation has aroused at least surprise. The stand is proof that the PUWP's authorities have not drawn any conclusions from the June elections. Let us say it openly: Society rejected the to-date political system. If the United Peasant's Party [UPP] suffered an overwhelming defeat during the first round of elections, then it was first of all because of the fact that the UPP had agreed to a sham coalition in which it had nothing or almost nothing to say.

How many times, even in recent weeks, did the PUWP representatives speak on behalf of the entire coalition without even asking their partners for opinion?

Our new alliance is not motivated by any kind of opportunism, but first of all by the best understood Polish reason of state. Embarking upon the road of confrontation with the PUWP is out of the question. We

do not want it, but the PUWP's latest resolution is very provocative and asks for such a confrontation. This particularly applies to the statement saying that "since the early 1970's the PUWP has been a promoter of the growing significance of the UPP's and Democratic Party's [DP] in the process of government, as well as an advocate of their strong representation in the current parliament."

The truth is that without a permanent pressure by the UPP members we would not have moved even a step forward. What is more, joint decisions frequently taken under our pressure, such as those at the 11th plenum of the PUWP Central Committee and UPP Central Committee in 1983, have not been implemented. The authorities of the UPP were very strongly criticised by rank-and-file UPP members all over Poland for tolerating this state of affairs. Our assessment can be a representative one, because we are the biggest urban and rural UPP organisation in Poland. To my mind, the fact that the PUWP Central Committee's resolution refers to UPP and DP members ignoring these parties' authorities is contradictory to the principles of good political manners. Speaking firmly, it is an expression of arrogance.

Does the PUWP again intend, using the model of its predecessors, to create subversive groupings in the peasants' movement, ones of the kind of the "Independent Peasants' Party" or "People's Will."

I believe that time will verify all these unjust assessments in the best way. I also believe that our positive answer to Lech Walesa's appeal of early August will go down in the history of Poland as an event of a great significance to our motherland and the peasants' movement, Bukala concludes.

PZPR Deputy on Proposal

*LD2408203389 Warsaw Television Service in Polish
1524 GMT 24 Aug 89*

[Text] Yesterday, 15 deputies from the PZPR [Polish United Workers Party] Parliamentary Floor Group put forward a resolution for a change in the constitution. What would this be based upon?

[Jozef Bogusz, PZPR deputy] This change, resulting from the new political situation that has arisen as a result of the elections to the Sejm, would delete from the constitution the contention that the PZPR is the leading political force of society in the building of socialism. The removal of this clause is a result of the new conditions. In their statements party members were often of the opinion that it is appropriate to remove this clause, because it was introduced into the constitution during the period of PZPR domination of the Sejm and was a duplication of this type of clause in the constitutions of other socialist states. We feel that the role of the party should be decided not by a constitutional clause but by its program, method of activity, and also by the acceptance of society as expressed in free, democratic elections to the Sejm and to the state authorities.

TRYBUNA LUDU on Party Participation

*AU2408131089 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
22 Aug 89 p 1*

[Anna Pawlowska commentary: "Only in Accordance With the 'Roundtable'."]

[Text] As the highest party authority between congresses, the Central Committee has agreed that the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] may take part in a government formed by the former opposition.

This means that we for a change see no need to become an opposition in the altered structure of parliamentary alliances. Someone may ask why. Because, first of all, in our programmatic principles and immediate aims there is no room for a desire to hinder anyone in his efforts to heave Poland out of the crisis, and "Solidarity" has said it wishes to undertake such efforts; and second, because from the very beginning we wanted a governing coalition which used to be referred to as a "grand" coalition, one that was meant to marshal all the forces and streams that took part in the "roundtable." That is the kind of government we wanted to form. In Poland's present situation, there is no time to feel offended, therefore if someone else is ready to form such a government, we cannot shun participation in it.

Nevertheless, the Central Committee stance contains two important provisos. The first of these discusses the extent of this participation. To be frank, we refuse to act as a geopolitical "safety valve." We are a political party of 2 million people, with our own program, experience, and cadres. Therefore, our involvement in parliament must be commensurate with our potential.

The principle of as much responsibility as there is authority has been binding in Poland for a long time. The former opposition was very fond of referring to it, especially when it was invited to take part in reaching decisions that are important for the future. It used to say: "Our rank and file fails to understand why we are assuming responsibility when we have no right to make decisions." Yet our own rank and file is in the same situation. Never in the entire 45 years of People's Poland has the party shunned responsibility for both the evil and good in the country. Very often the party assumed more than its fair share of responsibility, especially at critical times. Today, however, in view of the future, its duty is to define its own scope of responsibility in proportion to the extent of its participation in government. If the ideas and decisions of the "roundtable" suffer a fiasco, those who erased the coalition-to-be must take the blame for wasting yet another national chance.

The second proviso is even more fundamental. The programmatic declarations of "Solidarity" so far, made from an opposition angle, are so incohesive and inconsistent that they cannot be adopted as government policy. Therefore we would like to know in good time, that is to say before the Sejm appoints a new premier, what kind of government we are supposed to participate

in. Of course I do not mean the government's personnel composition, which depends on the wishes of the premier and the candidates whom he manages to win for his cabinet. I mean the government program.

The party has said many times that it is in favor of far-reaching economic and political transformations and has initiated very bold transformations itself. It still sees how much there is left to do. However, it was and remains the party's intention to change, modernize, and perfect the socialist system, for that is the purpose of the party's existence. That is the party's historic mission, for which it is permanently answerable to the working people. The PZPR's representatives at the "roundtable" made no secret of this fact. The accords reached there are still binding on all its participants, and are therefore also binding on the forces that are now due to form a new government. Do the government's programmatic principles conform to the letter and spirit of these accords?

The new government will not find things any easier than its predecessor, solely because it is being formed by what used to be the opposition. The difficulties besetting the country are too serious to be solved by a mere "change of colors." There is only a chance of success if no parliamentary component places obstacles in the way of the transformations that Poland needs. The PZPR will certainly not do so.

Party Leaders Congratulate Mazowiecki

*LD2508004489 Warsaw PAP in English
2320 GMT 24 Aug 89*

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 24—Roman Malinowski, chairman of the CC [Central Committee] of the United Peasant Party, wrote in a congratulatory cable to Tadeusz Mazowiecki, i.a.: "Your election to this post opens a new chapter in our history."

Jerzy Jozwiak, chairman of the CC of the Democratic Party, sent congratulations to the new premier, saying, among other things: "We are convinced that your historic mission will end in a success and that the formed government of national responsibility will meet expectations of the Polish nation."

In his message to Mazowiecki Archbishop Bronislaw Dabrowski, general secretary of the Conference of Poland's Episcopate, stated, i.a.: "You will be recorded in the postwar history of Poland as the first premier representing genuine Catholic society."

"I voice conviction that your efforts will also be accompanied by prayers of the entire church in Poland."

France's Rocard Congratulates Mazowiecki

*LD2508005889 Warsaw PAP in English
2318 GMT 24 Aug 89*

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 24—French Premier Michel Rocard sent the following congratulatory cable to Tadeusz Mazowiecki:

I have much pleasure in sending to you cordial congratulations on the occasion of your appointment for Polish premier.

I am convinced that the activity of your government will serve the interests of the Polish nation and expansion of cooperation in Europe.

You can count on the understanding and support of France, befriended with Poland, in fulfilling your mission.

Bush Congratulates Mazowiecki on Election

*LD2408185689 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
1800 GMT 24 Aug 89*

[Text] In connection with Tadeusz Mazowiecki's election as Poland's Premier, President of the United States George Bush has issued a statement in which he expresses congratulations and gives assurances of his active support for rebuilding the economy and for the democratic changes in Poland.

George Bush congratulated President Wojciech Jaruzelski in connection with the political wisdom shown by him, expressed in support for a government constituting a reflection of the true will of the Polish nation.

U.S. Senator, Mrs Dole Attend Economic Forum

*LD2508040589 Warsaw PAP in English
0004 GMT 25 Aug 89*

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 24—The Civic Parliamentary Caucus OKP met today to get acquainted with a program of healing Polish economy, proposed by American economics Professor Jeffrey Sachs, world known expert in liquidation of debt and inflation.

The meeting, chaired by caucus leader Bronislaw Gerek, was attended by deputies of other caucuses, interested in the problem. Present was visiting Robert Dole, Republican minority leader in the U.S. Senate, with wife Elizabeth Dole, secretary of labour in U.S. Administration.

Presenting his program, Sachs underscored that it should be urgently realized by the new government. It consists in several basic points aimed at introducing market rules to the entire economy at a rapid pace.

This proposal was supported by Professor at the London School of Economics, Stanislaw Gomulka. Polish economy needs a surgery for which a price should be surely paid, for instance in the form of unemployment, said Gomulka.

Both professors agreed that only a shock therapy using rapid introduction of market rules can help Polish economy.

Next Sejm Deputy Ryszard Bugaj took the floor. He did not negate the necessity of prompt and radical economic reforms but pointed to several significant threats ensuing from such a fast transition to market rules in Polish

economy. He also pointed to differences between economic conditions in Poland and countries where the American economists' recipes were applied.

Similar doubts were presented by Deputy Marcin Swieicki (PUWP) [Polish United Workers Party]. He emphasized, first of all, immense social costs to be paid by Poles if such a shock therapy were to be recommended.

Other discussants also expressed doubts whether society would accept the high costs of such intensive treatment over such a short period of time.

Only deputy Jacek Kuron stated that economic decisions were also of political character. He considered every attempt to postpone radical solutions as causing social embitterment and disappointment. Therefore it is necessary to adopt a program of radical economic changes and Polish economists must possibly promptly work out its variant corresponding to Polish conditions, he added.

Solidarity's Michnik Rebukes Czech Government

AU2408131489 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish
22 Aug 89 p 1

[Untitled editorial by Adam Michnik, GAZETA WYBORCZA editor-in-chief]

[Text] The resolutions by the Polish Sejm and Senate have been described by the official propaganda of our southern neighbors as "brutal interference in the internal affairs of Czechoslovakia." However, this description does not somehow seem to apply to the Prague radio commentary whereby the decision of President Jaruzelski to confer the task of forming the new government to Tadeusz Mazowiecki "proves that in Poland socialism is being dismantled." The Prague radio commentator declared: "This choice is the nail in the coffin of socialism in Poland."

Such utterances are evidence of a deep loyalty to the doctrine and language of Josef Stalin. They are also foolish because phrases and incantations cannot be a substitute for political analysis. Nevertheless, I do not think that such statements are a "brutal interference" in Poland's internal affairs.

People in Czechoslovakia have the right to critically assess the actions of the Polish president and prime minister. It is open to us Poles to freely criticize the policies of the Czechoslovak Government. We are also freely entitled to feel ashamed about the 1968 invasion of Czechoslovakia. We are also perfectly entitled, seeing the arrests of our Czech and Slovak friends who are fighting for democracy, to take the side of the detainees, and not their jailers. We are also free to hold the belief that one must talk to the opposition.

August 1968 is a date that my generation will always remember. It was a turning point in the internal and

international political realities of Poland. The student's movement for democracy and its political liquidation happened to coincide with the Prague Spring. The harsh and repressive internal policies of Gomulka were accompanied by his unequivocal support for the policies of Brezhnev vis-a-vis Czechoslovakia. That is why we were only able to condemn the invasion of Czechoslovakia from the inside of a prison cell. The grain of optimism in all this is that now we are able to condemn it from the parliamentary benches of the Sejm.

In Czechoslovakia, this year's anniversary of the invasion is passing under the signs of repression and mendacious trumpeting. Once again we are reading about the arrests and the mobilization of the police. Once again we hear about "the working people" who with loving affection recall the armed intervention and remember the counterrevolution and the antisocialist forces. We ask ourselves: Has a malicious devil stopped all the clocks in the Czechoslovak Government offices?

Changes in all our countries are unavoidable. We are searching for ways to take us through to parliamentary democracy and a market economy. We are searching for peaceful and evolutionary roads. That is the reason why we are particularly perturbed by everything which could block this road. It can equally be a wanton radicalism that leads to the destruction of agreements of political compromise, or the mindless conservatism of the apparatus that always leads to stagnation and crisis—as in the Czechoslovakia of today.

Detained Poles Fined, Freed From CSSR

LD2408192189 Warsaw Television Service in Polish
1524 GMT 24 Aug 89

[Text] Three young Polish tourists detained in Prague in association with the anniversary of August 1968 have been freed from arrest after 24 hours with the instruction to immediately leave Czechoslovakia, after payment of a several hundreds Koruna fine.

Sejm Statement on World War II Released

LD2508002389 Warsaw PAP in English
2311 GMT 24 Aug 89

[“Abridged” text of Sejm statement on the 50th anniversary of the outbreak of World II, adopted 24 August]

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 24—Fifty years ago, on September 1, 1939 the Third Reich armies invaded Poland. This act of German aggression started World War II.

It was the most cruel ordeal in the history of our nation. Six million of Polish citizens lost their lives. They were killed in battle, died as victims of extermination, were murdered in concentration camps and prisons.

On the Polish territory the Third Reich carried out the genocide of Jews from the whole Europe in Nazi death

camps. Poland was almost completely ruined, works of the national culture robbed or barbarously annihilated. Warsaw was the only European capital purposefully erased in the war.

Poland was the only country which fought against the Nazi Germany without any breaks, that is from September 1, 1939 till the end of the war. Materializing their traditional slogan of struggle for your freedom and ours, Poles fought on all fronts of World War II together with other nations threatened by Nazism.

For centuries Poles have lived in the neighbourhood of Germans. We treat with respect achievements of German culture and civilization. Nazism profaned those achievements and annihilated its opponents within the Reich.

However, in tune with the historical truth and moral principles we state that a considerable majority of the German nation bears responsibility for the crimes of the Third Reich.

In results of the war Poland returned to independence within new borders recognized by the victorious powers of the anti-Nazi coalition. The borders remain durable and inviolable.

Today, half a century later, we want to turn to the future. Without forgetting all that is behind us, we want to participate in creation of new Europe. The challenges made by the war led to formation of an effective anti-Nazi coalition. It was successful despite great differences among its members. Let challenges of the contemporary world become an impulse for concerted action of the East and West, North and South.

Poland experiences a period of important change. Our aspirations are in the interest of all Europe, they meet with support of many countries. Our future success and the resulting strong position of Poland as a partner in international relations will be a common value of various states, of our close neighbours in the first place.

On this special day we want to join with other nations in reflection on the past and in hope for better future.

Prosecutor Says No Evidence Father Zych Murdered

*LD2508010289 Warsaw PAP in English
2323 GMT 24 Aug 89*

[Text] Elblag, Aug. 24—A press conference on the hitherto results of the investigation into the death of Father Sylwester Zych on July 11 was staged in the regional prosecutors office here today.

Prosecutor Wojciech Mazurek, in charge of the case, said that after the second post mortem carried in the Forensic Medicine Institute of the Medical Academy in Gdansk additional examination of blood and urine to determine the alcohol concentration as well as histopathological and toxicological analyses were ordered.

The results of the analyses let the experts from the Forensic Institute pass the following opinion:

"Results of two post mortem dissections corroborated by results of microscopic examination did not reveal pathological or injury-related changes which could have caused the death of Father Zych. In view of such findings we must assume that the death was caused by acute poisoning with ethyl alcohol."

Prosecutor Mazurek said that there is no circumstantial evidence that Father Zych was murdered. The identity of a grey-haired man with whom Father Zych was in the "Riviera" bar in Krynica Morska (coastal Poland) on July 10 night has not been established yet.

Silesia Agreement Signed, Strikers Not 'Penalized'

*LD2408082589 Warsaw PAP in English
0858 GMT 24 Aug 89*

[Text] Katowice, Aug. 24—After eight days of strike in the "Marcel" mine in Wodzislaw Slaski, an eight-point agreement was signed last night on suspending for a month the sit-in strike there as well as in the "Morcinek", "Grodziec" and "Jowisz" coal mines.

The last strikers left the mines before 6 a.m. today. The agreement ensures that the strikers will not be penalized in any way. A commission composed of representatives of the hard coal community, both trade unions and other sides concerned will review how the main postulate concerning wage rises is to be solved by September 24.

Situation Eases 24 Aug

*LD2408214689 Warsaw PAP in English
2119 GMT 24 Aug 89*

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 24—Reports on suspending of strikes came from all Poland today.

In Katowice voivodship an agreement was signed on suspension of strikes in the "Marcel", "Morcinek", "Jowisz", and "Grodziec" coal mines.

Also a protest action in "Belchatow" power plant (central Poland) was called off as a result of an agreement being signed.

A sit-in strike of the motor transport workers in Katowice was suspended till October 31. While taking the decision the signatories of the agreement appealed to all crews and trade union organizations in motor transport enterprises of the Polish post to suspend their protest actions till October 21 and not launch strikes.

"After that date, the appeal reads, following results of the negotiations with the government and the post management, further common decisions will be taken by factory trade union organizations."

On the other hand, a stoppage continued today in the cotton factory in Andrychow (southern Poland) while

Koszalin and Olsztyn (northern Poland) inhabitants were unable to buy papers due to news-stand keepers' strike.

Jaruzelski Meets With Trade Leader

LD2508035689 Warsaw PAP in English
2322 GMT 24 Aug 89

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 24—Polish President Wojciech Jaruzelski received today Alfred Miodowicz, chairman of the All-Poland Alliance of Trade Unions.

They discussed living standards of working people and old age and disability pensioners against the background of the current difficult economic situation of the country.

Lodz Railway Workers Strike

LD2508083689 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
0500 GMT 25 Aug 89

[Text] In line with the announcement, the Lodz railway workers started a general strike at midnight. The main demand is a rise in pay to the level of 145 percent of the national average in heavy industry. The strike is spontaneous and not being led by any organization. I returned a moment ago from the Lodz Fabryczna station. At the moment, there aren't many people, some young people with backpacks are sleeping on the benches. They believe they'll still be able to travel today. The only trains which are not being stopped are international, holiday-camp, express, military trains, trains carrying food. Please note that trains which take people to work are also not running. No talks have begun with the strikers since midnight.

TANJUG Views Options for Political Pluralism

LD2408165289 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1317 GMT 28 Aug 89

[Text] Belgrade, August 24 (TANJUG)—Political pluralism has made great strides in social realities of the socialist world. Until recently taboo, it has now become a part of everyday life in a number of socialist countries and in some—like Poland—even an institutionalized factor of the system.

Where does Yugoslavia stand in this regard. It is worth recalling that it was the first country, and its League of Communists the first party in power to discuss pluralism. The point, however, is the actual scope of the concept of pluralism of selfmanagement interests, elaborated eleven years ago by Tito's closest aide Edvard Kardelj (died in 1979), and what stood (or still stands) in the way of carrying into effect the authentic starting points of that concept.

Will everything now, when there is so much talk of political pluralism everywhere in Yugoslavia, end in insignificant improvements in the system and minor "concessions" to pluralism, or will the League of Communists one day have to face the challenge of going into opposition or finding itself in a situation similar to that of the Polish United Workers' Party.

At present, the League of Communists has a preference for the concept of nonparty pluralism, according to which different political interests should be articulated above all within the country's largest socio-political organization, the Socialist Alliance. According to views from different social circles, however, the version of multiparty pluralism appears more acceptable.

The subject is the focus of public interest here, and the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia will discuss it at one of its coming plenary sessions. But here, too, life has been faster than official policy so that several alliances, associations and movements have been formed in Yugoslavia and, especially, its republic of Slovenia, since political parties cannot be formed as yet under the constitution. A publication entitled "YUGOSLAV SCHOLARS ON POLITICAL PLURALISM," recently prepared by the LCY Central Committee's Social Research Centre, will be used as a basis for discussion at this important forthcoming session.

The publication offers, for the first time, a conditional classification of the concepts of political pluralism in Yugoslavia in five possible versions: 1. Kardelj's concept of pluralism of selfmanagement interests. 2. Political pluralism within the Socialist Alliance. 3. Derived (mixed) political pluralism without an imperative party mandate in the Federal Assembly system. 4. Traditional multiparty political pluralism. And 5. A narrowed concept of biparty political pluralism.

Scholars and other experts in the political system are also divided on the issue. For instance, Dr Radoslav Ratkovic of Belgrade describes as uncritical the a priori

identification of the multiparty system with democracy. He urges the creation of latitude for the operation of various social communities, organizations and institutions through a lessening of the role of the state.

If political pluralism is recognized as legitimate in socialist states, their ruling communist parties would have to renounce political monopoly and enter into a political contest with other political partners, holds one of the best known Yugoslav philosophers, Ljubomir Tadic.

Tadic points out that Bolshevism, as a typical model of political monism, rules out all kinds of political pluralism. He says that the rejection of pluralism is characteristic not only of Stalin and Stalinism but also of Lenin and Bukharin, as a result of their restrictive interpretation of the term "the dictatorship of the proletariat," taken over from Marx and Lenin.

Belgrade sociologist Zoran Djindjic considers political pluralism to be the only way in which Yugoslavia, as a country formed out of different parts seventy years ago, could overcome its "identity crisis." This however would involve a radical reform of the entire socio-political system, he says, adding that Yugoslav society is still very far from real pluralism, although the achievements in that direction over the past decade should not be underestimated.

Turkey Stops Train Travel Because of Bulgarians

LD2408165789 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1037 GMT 24 Aug 89

[Text] Belgrade, 24 Aug (TANJUG)—Turkish State Railways have informed the Community of Yugoslav Railways that beginning 25 August until further notice it will not receive the Istanbul Express train traveling on the Munich-Istanbul route. The reason, it is said, is that Bulgaria is continuing to send Bulgarian refugees without visas on this train.

Yugoslav Railways do not know as yet to which station on the territory of Bulgaria the Istanbul Express will travel. An answer to this question is expected from the Bulgarian State Railways, and passengers will be informed accordingly, the Yugoslav Railways press statement says.

Commentary View's Poland's 'Monstrous Mistakes'

AU2408205289 Zagreb VJESNIK
in Serbo-Croatian 23 Aug 89 p 3

[Zoran Bosnjak commentary: "Abdication"]

[Text] "There is no mistake too monstrous that cannot find its supporters, even among the most able people. Imagine a congress of famous celebrities like More,

Bacon, Grotius, Pascal, Cromwell, Bossuet, Montesquieu, Jefferson, Napoleon, and Pitt.... The result would be a real encyclopedia of mistakes." This is what Lord Acton wrote in horror to Mary Gladstone in 1881.

If someone today were to decide to write a "Letter to Poland," they would probably warn it that it is about to, both collectively and partially, commit two "monstrous mistakes" which already have (too) many defending supporters.

The first mistake: To leave the Communists with only force and coercion, or—to put it more politely—to leave them with the ministries of the army and the police. It is suggested in one of the formulations that these two ministries should remain in the jurisdiction of the president of the Republic, General Jaruzelski, who was until recently the first secretary of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] and who, after proclaiming "a state of emergency," arrested and prosecuted not such a long time ago the man who on Wednesday will most probably be entrusted with the mandate to form the next government, the "solidaristic" Tadeusz Mazowiecki.

To accept this "offer" would be a futuristic mistake for the Communists because they would be admitting that force and coercion are the only things they are good at. However, this is not correct either, because if they were, "those others" would not have left them in power with only the barest machinery of power in their hands. Moreover, for Poland the army—in which the legend of the Katyn trauma lives powerfully on—has always appeared, reading between the lines, to be more Polish than Communist, not to mention "internationalist".... In other words, PZPR members would even be left with only pure "coercion" (actually) without the force which, in countries with such a tradition, has an aura of performing a honorable national task.

One can, moreover, read between the lines of the numerous statements by the anti-Communist coalition that the PZPR—almost as a grotesque paraphrase of the saying "May force and injustice fall"—was in fact offered the army and the police only because of "the Russians." Are the PZPR members—and Walesa has in fact already told them that they are only red on the outside, and that he has met very few real Communists—agreeing to sing "Leave us (at least) with force and coercion," and will they appear as *de facto* defenders of the last remaining remnants of the Brezhnev empire of limited sovereignty in this key part of Europe where both "world processes" clash. At the moment, this is still wrapped in the cellophane of phrases about how it should be borne in mind that Poland is a link in the CEMA and Warsaw Pact chain....

Will PZPR members agree to be responsible in the government solely for force and coercion? In the end, perhaps they will because power is a hellish pleasure, especially if since the revolution and the "postrevolutionary abdication" you have always claimed to be historically in the right, so that it is naturally no longer

clear to you what is happening in your head and in your country. This has happened or it has not happened, and the phantasmagoric circle is closed and offers an answer to the question: "Where have you been, what have you done?"—which is horrific for PZPR members.

The most gentlemanly way out for PZPR members would be to become part of a classic opposition. Only how will they be classic—without a strong base in either the parliament or the trade unions and with cadres who have got out of the habit of working and living in street and factory cells?

The transitional way out offered them is a unique derivative of Mitterrand's cohabitation—a Communist as head of state but three coalition partners at the head of the state administration. It is difficult for this formulation to mean anything at all to PZPR members and even less to the Warsaw Pact in the "background." First of all, because Jaruzelski did not enter, or was not put, in the Belvedere Palace, in order to be a communist, but to be at the least a Polish patriot. In contrast to France, Poland does not have sophisticated mechanisms of current parliamentarism in order to endure and function alongside the haggling that we have watched in Paris between the first socialist and the mayor-premier. In fact, the PZPR members do not have a real chance—apart from Russian or "Warsaw" intervention, which in its general idea would be the most regrettable of all the PZPR's imaginable ends. Fortunately, it seems that this is not what the Soviets have in mind because even IZVESTIA indirectly admits that they made a mistake in 1968 in Prague. The PZPR has no place in the parliamentary opposition for another reason: The future ruling coalition has announced the demand for a "loyal opposition" in the Sejm.

We come at this point to the second potential "encyclopedic" mistake: The new government—although unambiguously in the hands of Solidarity which is, along with the church and the non-political army, the only effective force in the crumbling country—is on the verge of committing its "original sin." At the moment it implicitly demands subservience but it is already manifesting intolerance toward others, "until matters are sorted out since this is an imperative of the moment." This sounds terribly familiar and threatens to have the consequences of already seen intolerance toward reason and everyone's well-intentioned capabilities, an intolerance which on all sides buries quasi-visions of socialism forever.

Without citing the worn-out saying about history, tragedy, and farce, let us recall the words of William James that "the truth happens to an idea. The idea becomes true; events make it true." Something is happening to the PZPR idea which one would not wish on one's worst enemy: Only after some euphoric events has the idea of a coalition—whatever it is—had its first contact not with its "own" truth—which has yet to turn it into reality—but with the truth about the environment and community in which it arose.

This truth about the environment will not be rosy, especially since "this money" is nowhere to be found: Both the East and the West will leave Poland to stew in its own juice—withholding or adding seasoning at will. Will we therefore not soon see the "trade union cardinal" (Walesa) telling his rebellious workers flock that there is no money for pay increases, or will he even return the price of bread to the old price.... When shipyard workers, for instance from Gdansk, begin to threaten him.

Striking Metal Workers Criticize Government

AU2408142189 Belgrade Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 24 Aug 89

[Text] Four hundred workers at the metal furnishings factory of the Graditelj construction firm in Gornji Milanovac stopped work today. The cause of the halt in production was yesterday's payment of personal incomes which amount to an average of 2.79 million dinars [per month]. Workers are demanding a 100 percent increase in personal incomes and the replacement of the entire management which is unable to lead them in the present conditions. Particular criticism has been leveled at the Federal Executive Council because it lacks a specific program for stopping inflation, which day by day devalues the work done by the workers. An extraordinary workers' meeting is under way in this factory.

Further Reportage on Muzevic, Police Brutality

Internal Affairs Comments

LD2408175389 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1246 GMT 24 Aug 89

[Text] Belgrade, 24 Aug (TANJUG)—Immediately on learning that employees of the traffic police of the Belgrade City Secretariat for Internal Affairs had taken action against Comrade Boris Muzevic, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, for a traffic offence, the Serbian Republican Secretariat for Internal Affairs to make a detailed investigation of all the circumstances of the case, and in particular the behavior of the police employees. This is said in a statement from the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs, which stresses that the federal secretary asked for the report on the established facts of the case to be presented to him personally.

The Serbian republican secretary for internal affairs has formed a commission composed of top workers of the Republican Secretariat for Internal Affairs of Serbia and of the Belgrade City Secretariat for Internal Affairs, and has given it the task of investigating the facts of the case. At the suggestion of the Republican Secretariat for Internal Affairs, a representative of the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs is also taking part in the work of the commission. The federal secretary for internal affairs will inform the FEC of the commission's findings and the facts established, the statement says.

Radio Condemns Mistreatment

AU2408175389 Ljubljana Domestic Service
in Slovene 1330 GMT 24 Aug 89

[Commentary by Boris Dolnicar]

[Text] The latest facts connected with the Muzevic affair undoubtedly confirm that the member of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia Central Committee Presidium was beaten up by traffic militiamen during an identification stop in New Belgrade a week ago. The statement issued at yesterday's session of this party organ says that members of a traffic patrol of the Belgrade Secretariat for Internal Affairs used force against a driver, exceeded their powers, mistreated him, and acted incorrectly. Ciril Ribicic, member of the Presidium of the Slovene League of Communists, asserts that on the basis of statements by witnesses there is no longer any doubt that Muzevic was beaten up. Nobody has refuted the medical report.

The Monday statement by the Serbian Secretariat for Internal Affairs was changed in an important detail yesterday, to the effect that a breath test had been given and that it was negative. Today we have a report by Boris Muzevic on the truly horrifying conduct by members of the Serbian militia against him, after they had established his name, his employment, and what he was doing.

The Presidium of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia Central Committee may try as much as it can not to politicize the affair, but even on Thursday, when the Yugoslav public did not know anything about it, the very act of the brutal behavior of the militiamen with a citizen who committed a traffic offense had above all political dimensions and only secondarily the dimensions of a police, disciplinary, or criminal affair. This is even more so when three political forums in the federation, in Belgrade, and in Slovenia discussed the event, and when it is clear that because of a traffic offense, a tired look, an unshaven face, and suspected drunkenness, Belgrade militiamen gave a beating with fists and a rubber truncheon to the person who spoke at the latest meeting of the Central Committee session on national homogenization as an expression of a lack of capability and an absence of social development plans, or as one of the darkest means to achieve various political aims, who was against the imposition of a single absolute truth, who advocated the sovereignty of voluntarily united peoples, a Yugoslavia of AVNOJ [Anti-Fascist Council of National Liberation of Yugoslavia] without big and small, more or less deserving peoples, and equality on the basis of democracy and political pluralism.

After this 25th session of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia Central Committee, a veritable campaign was launched at numerous party, veterans, and other meetings in Serbia against all those who mentioned Serbian nationalism in any way, and Boris Muzevic got on the list of unacceptable speakers.

Who can then still believe that this was merely a police incident? In other words, if the Serbian Republican Secretariat for Internal Affairs asserts that traffic offenders are not beaten up, why did this happen to Boris Muzevic and precisely at this time?

Particularly because of the arrogant insistence on a falsified statement, it is certain that the Muzevic affair is merely a continuation of the present Serbian policy with different means. This is another proof of its increasingly obvious danger to the future of the multinational Yugoslavia, for it stops at nothing to achieve its basic aim, the national homogenization.

After the political dismissals, after the expulsions fomented at meetings, after cadre and other ultimatums, after arrests and isolations, a resort has now been made even to physical threats to those who think differently.

Where does this lead to, and how much longer is it to last? I ask myself this question, and I also ask the most responsible guardians of the state and political integrity of our common motherland, the SFRY Presidency and the League of Communists of Yugoslavia Presidium. My Yugoslavia is not a police, centralist, and absolutist state, it is a freedom-loving, democratic, and humane community looking at Europe and the world. Therefore the Muzevic case has dimensions that are much more fateful and worrying, because the Serbian policy in this case stepped over the brink of political tolerance in interethnic relations.

Muzevic Tells Own Story

AU2408202089 Ljubljana Domestic Service
in Slovene 1330 GMT 24 Aug 89

[Interview with Boris Muzevic, member of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia Central Committee Presidium, by Sandi Frelih, date, place not given—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Frelih] Comrade Muzevic, after the statement issued by the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Slovenia, you did not want to say anything for our radio, because you wanted to wait for the session of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia. Why, or rather, what is your version of the incident of which the public, so to say, presently knows nothing?

[Muzevic] (?I should say) that I did not refuse to make any statement only to your radio, but to the public in general, because I was firmly convinced all the time that first, the incident is of such a nature that it will trigger a political reaction, and second, (?I did not want) to complicate matters (?further) with my views of what happened to me. I did say this in a sentence or two, and this is the only thing that I stated in public in these 5 days.

After all that happened, especially after we discussed this at the session of the Presidium of the Central Committee

of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, after all that was written and said about me primarily in Serbia, in the public information media in Serbia, after the attacks that were directed at the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Slovenia and Slovenia at large, and for the sake of the truth itself, it is now the time to say what in fact had happened.

[Frelih] You did commit some traffic offenses?

[Muzevic] I did commit some traffic offenses, and I admitted this from the very beginning; from the first talk with the first person I had, and I have nothing to change or to add to this. [passage omitted]

All I can say about the talk with the motorcyclists, while we waited 20 minutes for the patrol car, is that I did not utter any threats, and did not invoke my office, or anything of the kind. The conversation was quite normal.

Then the patrol car came. The patrol militiaman asked who the driver of the car was. I said it was me. He explained that I should drive on to the sidewalk, park the car, take any valuables from the car, lock the car and go with him to the militia patrol car. I did all this. I greeted Rade [a Central Committee official who happened to pass by], and went to the patrol car. When I reached their car I heard a threat from behind me, so I stopped and called the colleague to come because I felt that matters were proceeding in a different way than they ought.

(?The militiaman) forcefully pushed me into the car, got into the car himself, and while uttering threats and shouting at me, he began to beat me, first with his fist and then with his truncheon. It lasted as long as it lasted. I begged him to stop beating me. I would not like to say how I felt.

We then went back to the patrol that stopped me. There was another militiaman in plain clothes there, and the one who had beaten me presented him as his boss. A hope sparked in me that the conduct that in my opinion was outside any reasonable behavior would be stopped. However, when I asked him to phone the Central Committee to determine my identity, for this was at stake, he said that if I was a member of the Presidium, I should be ashamed to behave in such a way. I cannot interpret what behavior this was, except for the facts that I have described.

I then took the breath test, which I initially refused to do, and it showed 0.0 alcohol. Then they drove me off. I thought they drove me to where they had been threatening and promising me to take me. However, they changed their mind half way, or perhaps they decided so earlier. I do not know, and they took me to the Central Committee building. As the statements available to the public and previously published say, two security guards did not recognize me, which is alright, although I have been entering that building for 9 years. The third security guard, the one on duty in the building, did recognize me. [passage omitted]

[Frelih] Why did so much time have to elapse before we received the statement by the Yugoslav Presidium, or rather before the Presidium discussed this incident at all?

[Muzevic] All that I did that evening was (?a few hours later) I sat down at a typewriter and wrote some six or seven pages on the course of the events, while my memory was still fresh, because I saw that the incident was not longer funny. [passage omitted]

[Frelih] [Words indistinct] the statement by the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia is somewhat ambiguous.

[Muzevic] You see, if I had written the statement myself, I would have written it differently. First, regarding the incident itself, I would write about it as it had happened [passage indistinct] (?One must begin) with the fact that the entire thing, the entire affair, all the politization, [words indistinct] began with the beating of a member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia.

Let us understand this properly. It just happens that I am member of the Presidium. I would indeed like to stress that this concerns a citizen, against whom all police powers were exceeded [words indistinct]. This should (?never happen) in a case (?such as mine). It is logical that the entire matter, with the politization which simply had to come, was taken up by the Presidium of the Central Committee of which I am a member, for after all [words indistinct] if something like that happened to a foreign citizen, his embassy would have to (?take up his case), or if it happened to our citizen abroad... and so on.

Anyhow, I consider the statement to be correct, to be a reflection of a thorough discussion, and you see yourself that (?there are) at least three, or rather four, elements: there is trust in the Presidium for what I said, and the statement that on the basis of the available material evidence there is no reason to doubt what happened; the condemnation of such a conduct; a condemnation by the Presidium (?of the stance taken up by) the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Slovenia, to the effect that it caused such a reaction in Belgrade; and the condemnation of some elements of the Belgrade reaction to the Slovenia's stance.

I think that the conclusion of the statement (?is also correct; it makes an appeal) that this matter should not be politicized any further. I myself would like to join in this appeal to make it as convincing as possible. I think that after all that happened—and it happened as I have said, I cannot tell it differently—we should reduce tensions arising from this case and we should try, now that we have quarreled badly enough, [words indistinct] and try to resolve these matters calmly and soberly.

The state organs should perform their duties. I am quite calm. Offenses were committed, and I must answer for them. Beatings did occur, and they must answer for them. I do not attribute any political dimensions to the

whole affair. I can only note that the entire incident occurred in the political climate that happens to prevail, and I can only state that they had all the opportunities and received all the warnings that, first, they should treat each citizen in an equally proper way [words indistinct] and second, in this specific case [words indistinct].

Foreign Secretary Seeks Report

LD2408200989 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1910 GMT 24 Aug 89

[Text] Belgrade, August 24 (TANJUG)—Yugoslavia's federal secretary for foreign affairs insists on being sent an urgent report on a traffic accident a few days ago in which Boris Muzevic, a party leadership member, was involved.

The federal secretary is urging from the Republic of Serbia's Secretariat for Home Affairs to be personally handed a report with all circumstances and details relevant to the case in which Muzevic, on account of a major traffic offence, was stopped last Thursday by Belgrade traffic militiamen (policemen) and, Muzevic said, was brutally beaten up.

In his statement to TANJUG news agency today, Muzevic said that one of the seven policemen present on the spot was beating him. He acknowledged his not having the identification papers required at the moment, but added that his claim of being a member of the Presidency of the LCY Central Committee was confirmed, too, by one of his "office colleagues" who happened to find himself on the spot.

The Muzevic case has outgrown the frame of a conflict involving a citizen and police and taken on the note of a political interethnic incidents, after the Republic of Slovenia's leadership protested three days ago by reason of his being their representative on the federal party presidency.

The presidency of the Yugoslav party (?appealed) yesterday to stop any harmful politicizing of the whole case. In the estimate of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia Central Committee Presidency, the "too early and tactless reaction" by some political bodies and out-of-proportion commentaries in some public mouthpieces have only made it more difficult to clear up the case and have brought negative political consequences to bear.

Drnovsek To Head Delegation to Nonaligned Summit

LD2308205789 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1636 GMT 23 Aug 89

[Text] Belgrade, Aug 23 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav state Presidency assessed today that all preparations for the forthcoming ninth nonaligned summit in Belgrade were successfully drawing to a close.

Judging by the announced participation of heads of state or government and other participants, the summit will be the most representative conference of the nonaligned countries so far.

The draft final documents, which Yugoslavia proposed as the host of the conference, have received support in consultations with other member-countries, and new proposals have also been received.

The platform and the political approach of the Yugoslav delegation to the conference have also received full support and some beneficial suggestions in the discussions in the Yugoslav republics and provinces and in authorized federal bodies.

The Yugoslav delegation to the ninth summit will be headed by Yugoslav Presidency President Dr Janez Drnovsek, it was decided at today's Presidency session. The delegation will also include Prime Minister Ante Markovic, Foreign Secretary Budimir Loncar, Vice-President of the Parliament Suada Muminagic, Secretary for Foreign Economic Affairs Dr Franc Horvat, Chairman of the Parliament's Foreign Policy Committee Aleksandar Simovic and Yugoslavia's permanent representative to the United Nations Dragoslav Pejic.

CNN Plans Special Programming on Summit

*AU2408155289 Belgrade BORBA
in Serbo-Croatian 22 Aug 89 p 10*

[Unattributed report: "Special Programs"]

[Text] During the nonaligned summit, two special programs will be prepared for Yugoslav radio and television centers, and they will be broadcast twice a day, at about 1800, and later in the evening. The radio and television programs will also have special programs in English which will be of an informative character and which will, in addition to reporting on events at the summit, also carry international news (a program similar to that currently broadcast for foreign tourists).

Presently, it is known that CNN television, television which covers the entire world, will have a 1-hour program devoted to the nonaligned summit every day. It is also expected that it will show a special program about Belgrade as the summit host.

One World Channel [Kanal jednog sveta] on the European satellite will transmit a 20-minute program on the work of the summit every day. This program will go into the European and Mediterranean television network from where it will be possible to "retrieve it" for showing on national networks.

Further on CNN Plans

*AU2408160889 Belgrade BORBA
in Serbo-Croatian 23 Aug 89 p 8*

[TANJUG report: "Nonaligned Summit on Television Screens All Over the World"]

[Text] Ljubljana, 22 Aug—Next Sunday, 27 August, several hundred million viewers of U.S. CNN television will have an opportunity to see a 1-hour program entitled the "Nonaligned Alternative" which was prepared by this television station at the initiative of "Yugoslav Radio and Television."

In addition to Yugoslav Radio Television, which prepared the framework of the program, the documentary program will also include contributions by the television of Egypt, India, Zimbabwe, Kuwait, Cuba, Island, Sweden, Switzerland, Cyprus, Philippines, Ethiopia, Angola, Barbados, and Iran.

Ljubljana and Belgrade Television took part in the project on the behalf of Yugoslav Radio and Television. In this program our country will show the interview with Janez Drnovsek, president of the SFRY Presidency, a report on Belgrade's preparations for the summit, and a documentary entitled "From Belgrade to Belgrade."

This program will be shown on CNN television, whose programs are seen in 70 countries all over the world, at 2100 local time.

Serbian Presidency Assessment on Kosovo

*LD2408202289 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1328 GMT 24 Aug 89*

[Text] Belgrade, 24 Aug (TANJUG)—The political and security situation in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo continues to be complex and therefore it is necessary that the existing emergency measures of the SFRY Presidency remains in force, it was assessed today at a session of the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Serbia (presided over by Slobodan Milosevic).

In the statement from this session it is pointed out that today the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Serbia had discussed the political and security situation in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo and the implementation of the decision by the SFRY Presidency on emergency measures.

At the session, it was established that the stands and assessments of the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Serbia and the Presidency of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo were completely identical, it is said in the statement.

Loncar, PLO's Qaddumi Talk; Qaddumi Departs

*LD2408182289 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1038 GMT 24 Aug 89*

[Text] Belgrade, 24 Aug (TANJUG)—The head of the PLO Political Department and foreign minister of the

State of Palestine, Faruq Qaddumi (Abu al-Lutf), who has been in Yugoslavia for consultations on the forthcoming nonaligned summit, has had a brief meeting today with his host, Federal Secretary for Foreign Affairs Budimir Loncar, prior to his departure from our country. The day before yesterday, Qaddumi had extensive talks with Loncar devoted to an exchange of views on topics connected with the nonaligned conference. On that occasion Loncar informed his guest of Yugoslavia's view on the conference's mission, the ways to modernise the movement, the topics which the meeting should tackle, and the course of preparations for the summit.

They also discussed the general international situation. It was assessed that it has improved and that it affords opportunities for active participation in resolving the remaining major world problems. In this context both sides found common ground in the view that a process is under way of positive seeking of solutions to the many regional conflicts in the world, although, as Qaddumi in particular stressed, the Middle East remains a crisis spot on which no essential progress has been made.

On the occasion of their meeting today Loncar and Qaddumi reviewed all the international topics which they discussed in the first round of talks, and in particular those which will be the subject of debate at the Belgrade nonaligned summit.

They also discussed the present situation in the region of the Middle East and ways of overcoming the conflict through peaceful negotiations.

Yesterday Faruq Qaddumi was also received in a short visit by Janez Drnovsek, president of the SFRY Presidency.

Press Opinion on Government, FEC Reviewed

AU2408172889 Belgrade BORBA
in Serbo-Croatian 21 Aug 89 p 4

[R.N. article: "The Federal Executive Council Does (Not) Believe the Peasants"]

[Text] The Yugoslav press has in recent days been intensively concerned with the policies and fate of the Federal Executive Council. It is interesting, however, that the media is not interested in the government to the same extent in different republics (in the last week, Slovene media has not published one article on the Federal Executive Council) and—what is not surprising—where the media has written about the government, it has been from firmly entrenched positions for or against.

Recently, the survival of the Federal Executive Council has most frequently been put into the context of the great peasant meeting announced for 28 August in Belgrade. Thus, on 16 August in an article entitled "A Meeting Is Out of the Question" (by I. Lajzman), VECERNJI LIST reported from the session of the Agricultural Committee of the Republican Conference of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Croatia, particularly emphasizing the

fact that the measures of the Federal Executive Council were supported as a whole and that the new proposals contain the basic demands of the agricultural workers, and "precisely because of this, participation by Croatian peasants in a meeting to destroy the government is out of the question. On the contrary, in implementing these measures, the government can count on the full support of Croatian peasants."

On the same day, Mirko Sajler in a VJESNIK article entitled "Peasants and Changes" spoke with agricultural workers from Slavonia and Baranja who said on the whole that the government's proposed measures were exceptional. A day later, the same writer in the same newspaper (in the article "A Radical Turnaround Toward Peasants") claimed that previous federal governments had preserved peace in Yugoslavia on the backs of the peasants and that this Federal Executive Council had set off in the opposite direction, citing that peasants will be put on an equal footing with the social sector, which has so far not been the case, and that support for the proposals has even come from Vojvodina.

The dispute between the Belgrade and Zagreb press was caused by the statement made by Ilija Mircetic, president of the Agricultural Committee of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Croatia, in which he said that "the meeting in Belgrade could lead to general chaos in the country because, according to its scenario, this should be the occasion to destroy the government of Ante Markovic." On 16 August, VECERNJE NOVOSTI, in an article penned by D. Glusevic, claimed that the members of this committee "were already allergic to the word meeting," and the next day the same journalist stated in a commentary (entitled "Doing a Tintor [Gojko Tintor, former president of the Croatian veterans association] on the Public"): "If this was Mircetic's opinion too—then it is just too much." On 18 August, VECERNJI LIST, again telephoned Mircetic who said that he had nothing to justify and that the stand of the committee was just that. On the same day, in EKSPRES POLITIKA, Slobodan Ignjatovic criticized Mircetic's stand in an article entitled "Dishonest Holders of Meetings."

The Labors of Peasant Sweat

In the article "Politicized Peasants" (by Rade Subotic), POLITIKA writes that the state "has been leaning on the ever weakening backs of peasants" and that "the fruits of peasant sweat-soaked hands and labors are being sold for nothing." The writer says that peasants want to publicly express their dissatisfaction and inability to resist the bad programs and measures of the federal government and that this proposal for a peasants' meeting "has caused unbelievable anger and worry among the frightened politicians and bureaucratic heavyweights in Slovenia and Croatia."

NOVA MAKEDONIJA, in an editorial by Vasil Mickovski in last Saturday's edition, warned that the demands for the resignation of the government are, at least for now, the views of individuals, "but it is not difficult to suppose that in the homogenization of peasants in some parts of the country, there will be attempts to raise the demand for the government's resignation to a priority level, as a solution to the crisis in Yugoslav agriculture."

"Who Wants the Fall of the Government, and Why?" was the title of a long article in VJESNIK on 13 August (by Mirko Sajler) which said, among other things, that the new Federal Executive Council cannot be blamed for failing to correct in its 6-month term of office everything that has amassed over the decades as a result of bad measures and mistakes, which have caused our entire economic system to fall ill. "Markovic and his ministers are to blame, and this is now quite obvious, only because they were elected against somebody's will.... The impression is that someone is commanding all this and writing the scenarios of dissatisfaction, criticism, and accusations and even the demands for the resignation of the Federal Executive Council."

SLOBODNA DALMACIJA, in an article entitled "Attack Markovic With Bread" penned by Dr Mladen Rakelic, says that for its part, it is horrified that the government could fall because of bread and wheat. "I am stating that it is quite blameless, particularly since it will be proposing a new agricultural policy in the fall." Djuro Zagorac wondered in DANAS of 15 August ("Charge Against the Government"): "Have the peasants, as ideologically and nationally the least antagonized stratum in the country, now been chosen to bring down the federal government and cause chaos, whose final denouement will not be easy to predict?" And further on: "What if people want to use the peasants' problems to settle some old scores which cannot be settled?"

In SLOBODNA DALMACIJA on 13 August, Drago Buvac says in an article entitled "The Destruction of Markovic": "The peasant uprising against Markovic's government is not really a very well-chosen clobbering from either the economic or political perspective. This government has been in power for too short a time to serve as a scapegoat for the solving of the socialist peasant issue.... So, if Markovic's government with the prime minister's own concept of a "new type of socialism"—which implies the market, entrepreneurship, self-enrichment (even of peasants)—is now endeavoring to break up this real-socialist stagnation for which it needs time and nerve—although you have immediately greeted it after the first measures with peasant protests—no one can and will be able any longer to persuade anyone that the scenario of destroying the government is not part of the game...." The writer continues by recalling that the party leadership renounced Milka Planinc as soon as she began to conduct an anti-inflationary policy and Branko Mikulic was brought down at the moment he began to conduct a stabilization policy in cooperation with the IMF.

On the other hand, POLITIKA of the same day carried the commentary "Step by Step But Where To" by Vladimir Dedec which criticizes the scrapping of payments with post-dated checks, "extinguishing the fire by intervening with goods from the federal reserves," and the import of wheat, only to conclude that all this has not touched the basic causes of inflation. Immediately below this commentary, in a report by Tome Todorovic from Nis (entitled "The Nis Electronics Factory Attempts To Meet the Unacceptable Provisions of the Federal Executive Council"), there is a statement by one of the firm's managers who says that they have been paralyzed by the unacceptable decisions of the federal government.

Who Designs Dissatisfaction

D. Janojlic in EKSPRES POLITIKA on 17 August talks about the measures of the Federal Executive Council with workers from the Gosa firm who say that the Federal Executive Council will have to bring down inflation or lose people's confidence. Reporting from talks between the Rakovica trade union representatives and the workers, the same newspaper carries a statement by Milan Nikolic, president of the communal trade union, who said: "Regardless of who is prime minister, we have to say to him that things cannot go on this way. In this respect, we will not deal with the fact that some people call us the 'incited mob' that is bringing down the Federal Executive Council."

In an article entitled "The Federal Executive Council Is Designing Dissatisfaction" (by G. Kastrovic), EKSPRES POLITIKA on 15 August reports on a visit by the Presidium of the City Trade Union of Belgrade to the Beko firm and publishes the words of the general director, Tomas Zugic, who does not think that the measures of the Federal Executive Council are anti-inflationary and that, moreover, the government changes three laws in 5 days so that it is impossible to develop a business strategy. POLITIKA writes about the same visit in an article entitled "The Federal Executive Council Is Applying Shock-Therapy to the Workers Instead of to the Main Generators of Inflation."

EKSPRES POLITIKA on 16 August publishes an interview conducted by the journalist Miodrag Stojanovic with Dr Zoran Arandjelovic, professor at the economics faculty in Nis, entitled "The Federal Executive Council Still Works in an Amateurish Way." A day later in the same newspaper (in an article entitled "The Government's Measures Are Beyond Belief") Dr Ilija Rosic, dean of the economics faculty in Kragujevac, says that the Federal Executive Council has, among other things, "seriously failed to create the necessary unity in the Yugoslavia community." Further on, he claims that the present government has put emphasis on the market, neglecting macro-economic policy and that "economists must rightly be worried about the one-sided orientation of the Federal Executive Council to the automatic working of the market." Rosic says at the end that he

continues to believe that the initial results of our government are more than modest and almost discourage belief in the success of a way out of the serious economic crisis.

In an editorial by Branko Podgornik on the call by the Federal Conference of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Yugoslavia to the Yugoslav consumers federation for consumers to organize themselves against speculation by shops and producers, VJESNIK says: "Although the announced peasants meeting in front of the SFRY Assembly building has not yet become reality, we have acquired yet another piece in the mosaic of doubts about the intentions to destroy the present policies of the Federal Executive Council."

In its latest issue, NIN carries a report by Stevan Stanic ("Does the Government Hate Peasants") from the village of Tabanovic in Macva and reports the stand of the peasants: "Even they themselves are surprised how they more or less until yesterday were afraid of saying anything nasty against even the lowest scribe of the peasant cooperative, but now they are freely preparing their peasants meeting against the government and President Ante Markovic."

Finally, the fate of the Federal Executive Council has even become a subject of the famous TRN column by Jovan Hadzi Kostic in VECERNJE NOVOSTI: "The defense mechanism is functioning perfectly: Those who want to bring down inflation are immediately proclaimed as those who want to bring down the government!"

POLITIKA Comments, Defends Farmers' Demands

*AU2308115289 Belgrade POLITIKA
in Serbo-Croatian 20 Aug 89 p 8*

[Zvonko Logar commentary: "Augean Stables"]

[Text] One of the nicest ancient myths is about Hercules who cleaned in just 1 day the stables of Augean, the King of Elis—which had not been cleaned for 30 years—by letting the waters of Alpheus and Peneus flow through them. If the legend about Augean's stables is seen as a metaphor for our agriculture, then, it appears, even the 4 and ½ decades have not been long enough to clean the agricultural policy of its prejudices and dogmas. This is why the seething among the farmers in the last few weeks represents above all their protest against old misconceptions in the social policy which has definitely led them into despair in the present crisis.

One could say that agriculture is the "original sin" of socialism. The policy toward farmers, who have always been seen as potential kulaks, has been a prisoner of the toughest dogmas from the first days of socialist revolutions. The image of socialism as a society of equal people has spread a panicking fear of enrichment. Socialism was more afraid of the rich than of poverty. The consequences are indeed very serious: Today there is hardly a

socialist country capable of providing a sufficient amount of food for its population.

At the same time this represents social injustice for one strata of society, because all great socialist revolutions—starting with the October revolution, our revolution, and the Chinese revolution—had their strongholds among the peasantry. Later they did everything possible to make an enemy of it.

Even if at present we forget the harsh episode with peasant work cooperatives that existed in the late 1940's and the beginning of the 1950's, and the motives that inspired them, the farmers in our country have remained second class citizens. In our country, little account is taken of the fact that individual farms constitute four fifths of all agricultural land. The stress was on social farms which in the wrong economic systems could not fulfill the hopes they were expecting to fulfill.

The main mistake for the present disposition of ownership in agriculture probably lies in the fact that an individual peasant was not chosen as the promoter of agriculture, and in the fact that, because of the economic system, large socially run farms could not have played the role of the developer of agriculture either. Despite the old knowledge that things should be different, agriculture is seen as an exclusively supply sector and not as the branch of the economy which needs to conduct its business like all other branches of the economy. With its low prices agriculture was allegedly supposed to preserve the standard of living of the city population. We are now the witnesses of what kind of misconception this was.

Insufficient and in many ways hindered production under somewhat freer market conditions has led to a real eruption of prices. Without an economic interest to set aside money for future business, farmers were directed to borrow expensive money, which, under high inflation, caused the interest rates shock. The prices of their products have thus reach astronomic heights. Frightened by their dependence on the banks, private farmers—whenever they could—avoided loans and very often sought a way out by reducing production. If someone had borrowed money, he had to repay it with high interest and within unfavorable deadlines.

This is only one reason which has thrust agriculture into its sorry state today. The mistake was made in strategy. The misconceptions, which date back to the postwar period, when industry was regarded to be the driving force of socialism, made towns a magnetic force which irresistibly attracted people from villages. The villages were mainly left with old people. Many clever moves will be needed—without allowing for even a single mistake—to make work in agriculture attractive for young people again.

In spite of this, many economists and experts on agricultural economy believe that in rebuilding our economy one should proceed from agriculture, and that agriculture is the link which one needs to hold on in order to overcome the crisis. The few remaining people in the

villages could, under favorable conditions, become the most loyal followers of agricultural reforms because, in their souls, farmers, in order to survive, have retained some of their entrepreneurial spirit. They have always had strong motives for that. Whenever they start working in their fields, they always start from "zero," because if they are not in their fields, nobody would give them any money.

Seen from this point of view, it is not accidental that the current "rebellion" in agriculture was initiated by individual farmers. State interventionism has always been biased in favor of state farms. Those who work on them still follow the logic that in the event they encounter difficulties, somebody will help them. This logic will probably disappear once the state farms are transformed into modern farms, but it survives for the time being. Therefore, in a somewhat more democratic climate the social scene had to be entered by the small farmer who does not count on the state's "umbrella" and who, tying his fate to the country, was losing incomparably more than he was gaining.

The sorry side of our situation is in that this authentic cry from the village is not understood everywhere for pure political reasons. The Serbian Presidency Commission's project on agriculture published in July of last year—which is not only the most thorough criticism of misconceptions about agriculture, but also the most detailed compilation of steps that need to be made to eliminate them—somehow fell on "deaf" ears. This constructive contribution was completely forgotten until the farmers from Vojvodina threatened to hold a protest meeting in Belgrade. At present they are protesting because of incomprehensible slowness and vacillations of the responsible organs to do what should be done immediately.

Circumstances call for rapid changes and decisions, while the political system is not up to it. Thus, defending the government of Ante Markovic has also become an excuse for the "rusty" institutions which are so "impassable" that even the most prudent things cannot be changed quickly. However, there is something else: As in the case of policies toward our economy in general, these views toward agriculture maintain an expensive and inefficient political system which provides the most influential strata of society with many privileges. The power of its position lies primarily in that it is able to postpone everything indefinitely.

Nobody in his right mind would unload on Markovic and his team the "negative political load" of mistakes that have been made in agriculture for years, but the government can be expected to act faster. The fact is that the announced protest rallies have slightly shaken the Federal Executive Council and forced it to start to think in more definite terms about agricultural policy.

The odium created against a possible farmers' rally in Belgrade has pronouncedly political dimensions. This represents open hatred toward everything undertaken by

Serbia and an attempt to find a new motive to provoke further polarization against it. It is difficult, however, to resist the impression that this represents the introduction of a politicking view of true problems in agriculture. Even if Serbia had some vested interests in improvements in agriculture, particularly because of Vojvodina, and some of its other parts, the interests of Croatia, or any other parts of the country, should not be smaller either. What then is the purpose of such animosity toward farmers' wishes to express their interests publicly?

This is neither a plea for or against the rally, but the author of this article is resolutely against farmers being deprived of the right to use Article 167 of the SFRY Constitution, which guarantees them, as it does all other citizens, the right to hold free rallies and public gatherings. Can any part of the Socialist Alliance—if this organization pretends to express the interest of this strata in the country—oppose a possible rally by the farmers? The question is whether politics can at all oppose something that is guaranteed by the Constitution? Is it not strange that those who are themselves in favor of a law-governed state at the same time deny the farmers their constitutional rights?

As far as politics is concerned, at the first glance it appears that the present farmers' demands are contradictory. However, even if they are contradictory in some details, one cannot close one's eyes to their main message. In essence, they are demands for agriculture to be made equal to all other branches of the economy. In other words, they are demands for the "Augean stables" to be cleaned as soon as possible.

Therefore, there is much more at stake than just the fate of one government.

Niksic Protest Meeting Releases Demands

*AU 2308204189 Belgrade BORBA
in Serbo-Croatian 21 Aug 89 p 3*

[“Telegram to the Highest Organs of Yugoslavia and Montenegro” adopted at the protest gathering in Niksic on 20 August: “We Demand a Life Worthy of Man”]

[Text] To the SFRY Presidency.

To the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia,
To the Presidium of the Trade Union Federation of Yugoslavia,
To the Presidium of the Socialist Youth Federation of Yugoslavia,
To the Presidium of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Yugoslavia,
To the Presidium of the Federation of National Liberation War Veterans Associations of Yugoslavia,
To the SFRY Assembly,
To the Federal Executive Council,
To the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Montenegro,

To the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Montenegro.

To the Presidium of the Trade Union Federation of Montenegro.

To the Presidium of the Socialist Youth Federation of Montenegro.

To the Presidium of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Montenegro.

To the Presidium of the Federation of National Liberation War Veterans Associations of Montenegro.

To the Assembly of Montenegro.

To the Republican Executive Council:

The citizens and the working people of Montenegro, gathered at the protest meeting in Niksic, demand a life worthy of man and a state that will assure them more bread and social justice.

Therefore they demand:

1. Stop the collapse of the standard of living and the dizzying rise of prices. They demand a comprehensive Yugoslav program of measures against inflation with a unified social policy program, because the majority of these people have already begun to live a life of hunger. The dignity with which we suffer all the misfortunes of what has been done or not done through several years at the expense of the underdeveloped and the poor has no price, but it has its limits. Do not try to test them! Therefore we demand that the Federal Executive Council should urgently present to the Federal Assembly its proposals of respective measures of an anti-inflation and social program.

2. We demand that the further demeaning of the workers class and belittling of its work should stop, so that the workers class should not be offered mere welfare payments instead of a reduction of the taxes on its income earned through honest work. We also demand better material position for the many pensioners whose past labor must not be paid for with welfare payments.

3. The bureaucratic and technocratic blockage continues to exert its destructive effect in our society. We demand that these bastions of power in state organs and work organizations be destroyed.

4. We demand that the burden of "uncleared accounts and unresolved cases" should finally be lifted from this society. We owe this to our recent past. But we must pay this debt also because of the future, so that we finally put an end to illegal and unearned enrichment, the plunder of social property, smuggling, and other abuses.

5. We demand that knowledge, ability, and honesty should be given their place in society and that room be made for the army of the young and unemployed, so that they will not waste the best years of their lives in unemployment offices.

6. We note that Montenegro considered industrial development the way out of its underdeveloped state. This was its mistake, but it was also a mistake of others. We

therefore demand that the Federal Executive Council helps Montenegro with a timely payment of foreign exchange losses and in other ways, and to compensate its economy so that it could be made ready for implacable market competition.

7. In all these demands one can discern the demand for a profound transformation of society. We single out the reform of the sociopolitical organizations, especially the Trade Union Federation which, if it wants to remain on the political scene, must constantly and repeatedly confirm its revolutionary spirit and ensure its independence. It is clear that the existing constitutional provisions actually provide the strongest stranglehold on the implementation of social reforms. Therefore the unequivocal and undivided demand: Embark on the changes to the SFRY Constitution urgently.

8. Create conditions for constitutionality and the rule of law at all levels and over the entire territory of Yugoslavia.

9. Because of the increasing numbers of those who feel helpless in the conflicts with the Party-state and because of the multitude of the homeless, but not for these reasons alone, we demand the abolition of monopolies of any kind, the confiscation of rents, and the prevention of living as a landlord, and we demand a more sensible utilization and use of both nature and society. This also means a demand for a reduction (or abolition) of the swollen apparatus of the state, the sociopolitical communities, and the self-managing interest communities, as well as of our enormous and too-expensive diplomatic and consular apparatus all over the world.

10. We want laws that will ensure a unified taxation system, an unlocking of locked apartments, taxes on excessively large dwellings, and a housing policy that will ensure that social funds are used for the construction of workers housing—not of villas and mansions.

11. We demand of all federal and republican institutions and sociopolitical organizations that they should prevent officials from using their public speeches and official meetings to inflame interethnic conflicts and mutual insults.

In conclusion, a reminder and a supplication (although we are not used to supplications). First the reminder: Whatever happens, the people will survive. The question is only how and with whom, or rather who will be with the people. Only those have a place with the people; who are ready, while searching for a way out of this imposed hopelessness, to go, together with the people and relying on the people, through the hell of the economic reform as well as through the purgatory of the other two reforms—political and party.

And here is the supplication: Do not search for other signs and any other significance in these demands but one—that everybody in Yugoslavia should do what they are obliged to do to make life worthy of man in this land of Montenegro, too; that you should demonstrate that

you have actually comprehended how a large part of these people can no longer wait for the promised future, because they are threatened with hunger and humiliation. We can be saved from both. We have all the necessary conditions: from natural resources to the knowledge, ability, will, and readiness to determine our future with our own work. We demand of you only what you owe us: conditions under which we will be able to use all this for the benefit of all of us individually, as well as all of us jointly.

[Signed] Working people and citizens of Montenegro.

Drnovsek Receives New Mongolian Ambassador

LD2508041589 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1222 GMT 24 Aug 89

[Text] Belgrade, 24 Aug (TANJUG)—President of the SFRY Presidency Dr Janez Drnovsek today received the credentials of the newly-appointed Mongolian ambassador to Yugoslavia, Ludevordorzhyn Hashbat.

Ambassadorial Relations Established With Qatar

LD2408201589 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1045 GMT 24 Aug 89

[Text] Belgrade, 24 Aug (TANJUG)—The SFRY and the State of Qatar today established diplomatic relations at the ambassadorial level.

This important new step in relations between the two countries will contribute to the further all-round development of cooperation and friendship between the peoples of the SFRY and of the State of Qatar, to the strengthening of the principles of the policy and the Nonaligned Movement which links the two countries and to which, through their activities, they make an active contribution, and to the promotion of peace, cooperation, and understanding in the world.

Foreign Economic Relations Official Dies

LD2308200389 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0935 GMT 23 Aug 89

[Summary] Belgrade, 23 Aug (TANJUG)—Zarko Tanasic, under secretary in the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Economic Relations, died yesterday in Belgrade at the age of 59.